

M E M O I R S
O F T H E
CARDINAL DE RETZ.

C O N T A I N I N G,
THE PARTICULARS OF HIS OWN LIFE,
W I T H T H E
M O S T S E C R E T T R A N S A C T I O N S
O F T H E
F R E N C H C O U R T A N D T H E C I V I L W A R S.

T R A N S L A T E D F R O M T H E F R E N C H.

V O L. III.

The best Memoirs that I know of, are those of Cardinal de Retz.
—I hardly know any Book so necessary for a young Man to read and remember: you will there find how great Business is really carried on, very differently from what People who have never been concerned in it imagine. In short you will, in every Page of that Book, see that strange inconsistent Creature, Man, just as he is.

Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son.

D U B L I N:

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and T. WILKINSON. M,DCC,LXXVII.

M E M O I R S

OF THE

CARDINAL DE RETZ.

CONTAINING

THE PARTISANAL AND POLITICAL

WITH THE

MOST SELECT TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

FRENCH COURT AND THE CHURCH.

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. J. H. W. L.



Printed by W. Woodcock, at the British Museum, 1825.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Printed by W. Woodcock, at the British Museum, 1825.

M E M O I R S

O F T H E

C A R D I N A L D E R E T Z ;

W R I T T E N B Y H I M S E L F ,

T O M A D A M D E * * * * *

B O O K I I I .

M A D A M ,

I MUST beg of you not to be surprized, if in the sequel of this narration you do not find the same exactness which I have hitherto observed in what relates to the assemblies of the parliament. The court having removed from Paris to go into Berry and into Poitou, immediately after the king's being declared of age, which was upon the 7th of September 1651, and the duke of Orleans keeping an even hand between the queen and the prince, there appeared not upon the stage of the parliament near so many actors as before ; so that from the 7th of September to the opening of the parliament on the next St. Martin's day, which was on the 20th of November, it may be said that no considerable scenes appeared there, except those of the 7th and of the 14th of October. The duke in the assemblies held on these days told the company that the king had sent him a full power to treat with the prince, and that he had named to go along with him, and to assist him in this negotiation, messieurs d'Aligre and de la Marguerie counsellors of state, and messieurs de Mesmes, Menardeau, and Cumont, of the parliament. This negotiation came to nothing, because the prince refused

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to accept the offer which the duke had made him to go and confer* with him at Richlieu, as being a captious proposal of the court, made with a design to lessen the ardour of those that were willing to engage with him. Upon the 26th of this month they had the news at Paris that the prince was arrived at Bourdeaux on the 12th; and the same day that the news came, the king went to Fontainebleau, where he was informed in the evening, that if the court would advance to Bourges, the partisans of the prince would certainly leave that town. Messieurs de Chateauneuf and de Villeroi pressed the queen extremely not to give time to Persan to throw himself into it with the gentry of the province; and the court going thither accordingly, and the chiefest inhabitants having declared for the king, the rest surrendered without striking a blow. Palluau was left with a small body of troops to block up Montrond, which was defended by Persan. The prince of Conti and madam de Longueville retired to Bourdeaux with all manner of haste. Mr. de Nemours went along with them, during which journey he attached himself to madam de Longueville, more than madam de Châtillon and Mr. de la Rochefoucaut were willing he should. The prince thought that he had engaged Mr. de Longueville to be of his party, in the conference he had with him at Trie; but it proved without effect, Mr. de Longueville staying at Rouen. The movement which the troops, commanded by the count de Tavannes about Stenay, made by order of the prince after he had quitted the court, had not a much greater effect, because the count de Grand-pré, who had left the prince's service out of discontent, made likewise a movement near Ville Franche, and another near Givet, which kept the prince's troops in awe.

In compensation for that, the desertion of Marfin in Catalonia was of great weight. He commanded in that province when the princes were arrested, and as he was known to be very particularly attached to the prince of Condé, the court

* Mr. de la Rochefoucaut says in his memoirs, that the end of that conference was not to make peace, but only to binder the prince from making war; at a time when the bodies politic all over the kingdom were about to declare themselves.—The prince besides was unwilling to trust his interests in the duke of Orleans's hands, because of his union with the coadjutor his enemy, and of the union of that prelate with the court.

court thought not convenient to confide in him. Orders were sent to the intendant to seize his person. He was set at liberty at the same time that the princes were, and he was even restored to his post. When the prince left the court after his imprisonment, and took his way into Guienne, the queen thought upon winning Marlin, and sent him a patent of viceroy of Catalonia which he had passionately wished for, adding to it all manner of promises for the future. But having been timely informed of the prince's leaving the court, and of what he had resolved upon, he stood in fear of being treated as he was the time before. He therefore quitted Catalonia before the queen's dispatch had reached him, and got into Languedoc, with Baltons, Luffan, Monpouillan, le Marcouffe, and as many of his troops as he could get away: That desertion gave a wonderful advantage to the Spaniards in Catalonia, and it may be said that it cost France that province.

The prince in the mean while neglected nothing on the side of Guienne. He brought over to his party the whole nobility and gentry of that province. Even the old mareschal de la Force declared for him; and the count du Doignon, governor of Brouage, who owed his fortune entirely to the duke de Brezé, thought himself obliged to shew his gratitude to the princess of Condé, who was sister to his benefactor.

The prince of Condé did not forget to seek for support abroad. Lainé was sent into Spain, where he concluded that prince's treaty with his catholic majesty; and the archduke, who commanded in the Netherlands, and who had taken Bergue-Saint-Vinox, made preparations on his side, which afterwards cost France Dunkirk and Gravelines, and which from the time of those preparations obliged the court to keep upon that frontier part of the troops, which had otherwise been very necessary in Guienne. These clouds however did not all the harm, at least within the kingdom, that might have been feared from their thickness and blackness. The prince, in the levies he made, was not served as his quality and his person deserved. The mareschal de la Force acted not in his private capacity, in a manner answerable to the rest of his actions. The forts at Rochelle, which were in the count du Doignon's hands, held out but a very little while against the count d'Harcourt, who commanded the king's army. The Spaniards, who had Bourg, a place in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux, put into their hands, suc-

MEMOIRS OF THE

coured it but in a weak manner. All that the prince could do was only the taking the town of Agen and that of Saintes. He was obliged to raise the siege from before Coignac; and the greatest general in the world, without exception, learnt himself, or rather taught to others on all these occasions, that the most heroic valour and the most extraordinary capacity, are able to support but with a great deal of difficulty, new-raised forces, against old-disciplined troops.

Having resolved from the beginning of these memoirs to insist only upon matters of which I have had a particular knowledge, I touch upon what passed in Guienne, in the first movements of the prince, but in a very slight manner, and but just as much as the knowledge of them is necessary to you, for the connection they have with what I am to relate of the things that passed under my eyes at Paris, and of what I could discover of the designs of the court.

From Bourges, where I have said that the court went, it advanced to Poitiers that it might be nearer at hand to oppose the prince's steps. As they came to perceive there that the prince did not fall into the trap which they had laid for him, by means of a negotiation, in which, as they pretended, though wrongfully in my opinion, they had brought Gourville to be of their side, they ceased to keep any manner of measures with him, and the queen sent a declaration * to the parliament against him, whereby she declared him guilty of high treason. This to my thinking was the critical moment that gave rise to the revolution that ensued. There are but very few people that have known the true mystery of it, though there was not one but thought that he had found it out. Some have fancied that that mystery consisted in the cabals which, as they would persuade themselves, had been made at court, for and against the king's journey. But nothing is falser. That journey was undertaken by the general advice of every one. The queen longed with impatience to get free, and be at a place where she might recall the cardinal when she pleased. The sub-ministers, by all their letters, encouraged the thought she had. The duke wished more than any one the removal of the court, because his natural

* Joli says, that the duke of Orleans hindered for a fortnight together that declaration from being verified, but that the party of the court, to which the coadjutor's friends joined themselves, carried it at last, so that it was read and registered at the parliament on the 4th of December 1651.

tural and predominant temper made him always find a great pleasure in every thing that might diminish the respects which the king's presence obliged him constantly to pay. Mr. de Chateaufeuf added to his desire of rendering the prince, by some new step that would make a noise, still more irreconcilable to the court, the view of introducing himself into the queen's favour, during a journey in which the absence of the cardinal and the removal of the sub-ministers, gave him room to hope that he might still render himself both more agreeable and more necessary. The first president concurred in it to the best of his power, both because he thought that journey extremely useful to the king's service, and because the haughtiness with which Mr. de Chateaufeuf treated him, was become insupportable to him. Mr. de la Vieuville was not sorry, as it appeared to me, not to be too narrowly watched during the first days of his exercising his office of superintendant of the finances; and Bordeaux, who was his chief confidant, spoke to me in a manner that expressed even some impatience that the king was not already gone. The Frondeurs were not less impatient for the king's going, both because they saw the real necessity there was, not to give the prince time to settle himself beyond the Loire, and because they thought that they might reckon upon the duke in a much surer manner when he was at some distance from the court, than when he was near it. This was what appeared to me of the disposition in which every body, without exception, was in respect to the king's journey; and I cannot comprehend what ground those could have, that have reported, and even, if I mistake not, published in writing, the diversity of opinions that were delivered at the council-board, upon that subject.

You may therefore see that there was no manner of mystery in the king's going; but in recompence, there was a great deal in what followed that going, because every body found in it the reverse of what he had imagined. The queen met in it, by the obstacles which Mr. de Chateaufeuf formed against the recalling of the cardinal, more trouble beyond comparison, than that which she had had at Paris. The sub-ministers were mortally afraid that use and necessity should at last settle in the queen's mind, not only Mr. de Chateaufeuf, but likewise Mr. de Villeroi, who seemed weary of their advice. On the other hand, Mr. de Chateaufeuf did not find his hopes so well grounded as he expected, the queen continuing all the while in an intimate concert with

with the cardinal, and with all those that were truly devoted to his interest. The duke soon became less sensible to the pleasure of being free, which the absence of the court afforded him, than to the jealousy which quickly arose in him from the reports that were spread abroad of some secret negotiations, which he thought the more dangerous by reason of his being so far distant from the court. Mr. de la Vieuville, who was more afraid of Mazarin, than any body, told me a fortnight after the king had left Paris, that we had all been great fools in not opposing it. I owned it both in my name and in the name of all the Frondeurs. I still continue to own it now very sincerely, and I think this fault one of the greatest that any one could have committed on this occasion: I mean any one of those that did not wish for the return of the cardinal Mazarin; for as to those that were in his interest, it is certain that they acted as they ought to do. What made us commit that fault, was the natural inclination which all men have to seek rather for present ease, than for what may bring them ease afterwards. I fell into it as all the rest did, and the example of others makes me not the less ashamed of it. Our oversight was so much the greater, and more unpardonable, because we had foreseen the inconveniences of it, which indeed were not only visible but palpable; and because we chose to run the risk of the greater to avoid the smaller. There was beyond comparison less danger for us in letting the prince take breath and fortify himself in Guienne, than in setting the queen at full liberty to recall her favourite. This error is one of those which has, I think, obliged me to tell you sometimes, that the most ordinary cause of people's mistakes are their being too much frightened at the present danger, and not enough so at that which is remote. It was not long before we felt, as well as learnt, that capital faults that are committed in a party which is opposed to the royal authority, confound the whole party so entirely, that it is hardly possible for those that have had a hand in committing those faults, not to be reduced to the necessity of committing new ones, let them behave themselves never so wisely. I explain myself. The duke having properly put into the queen's hands the recalling of the cardinal, had now but three ways to follow; of which one was, to consent to his return; another to oppose it in concert with the prince of Condé; and the last, to form a third party in the state. The first of these ways was shameful, after the public engagements into which he had entered; the second had but
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little safety in it, by reason of the continual negotiations, which the sub-divisions of the prince's party were daily and inevitably the occasion of; the third was dangerous for the state, and besides impracticable on the duke's side, because it was above his genius.

Mr. de Chateauneuf being with the court at a distance from Paris, had no other way but the flattering the queen with the hopes of her minister's return, or the opposing that return by the obstacles which he might form by his court intrigues. The first of these ways was ruinous, because the present state of affairs shewed the hopes of that return to be too near to pretend to find means to baffle them: the second was chimerical, considering the queen's humour and obstinacy.

As to myself, in what manner could I behave that might be accounted wise and judicious? I was necessarily obliged, either to serve the queen according to her desire, for the return of the cardinal: or to oppose it jointly with the duke; or to keep a middle way between these two. I was besides necessitated, either to come to an accommodation with the prince, or to remain upon the same terms I was. But what safety could I meet with in all these several ways? My declaring for the cardinal's return had irretrievably ruined me, with the duke, the parliament, and the people, and for my surety I must have depended on Mazarin's word. My joining with the duke, against Mazarin's return, would according to all manner of rules have occasioned a quarter of an hour after a revocation of my nomination to the cardinalship. As to the prince, could I remain with him upon the terms I was, supposing the duke joined with him, and I with the duke? could I come, on the other hand, to an accommodation with the prince, at the time that the queen declared that she resolved upon my nomination, merely upon my promising her that I would not come to an accommodation with him? The king's stay at Paris must have kept the queen within such bounds as would have prevented many of these inconveniencies, and would have lessened the others. We contributed to the king's journey, when it was in our power to have obstructed it by many imperceptible means. What happened of it is what always happens to those that lose certain instants which are critical and decisive in affairs. For finding now that we had not any good way left, every one of us chose that wherein he perceived the least evil; which never fails to produce two ill effects: the one is, that such a medley of views is always confused; and the other, that the distinguishing of these views
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can never happen but by a mere work of chance. I shall explain this, and apply it to the matter now in question, after I have given you an account of some pretty curious and remarkable facts that happened at that time.

The queen, who had always had in her thoughts the restoring of cardinal Mazarin, began, as soon as she found herself free, not to constrain herself so much in relation to his return; and messieurs de Chateauneuf and de Villeroi found, as soon as the court was arrived at Poitiers, that the hopes which they had conceived were not, at least by the event, well grounded. The success which the count d'Harcourt had had in Guienne; the conduct of the parliament of Paris, who was against the cardinal, but who forbade under pain of death the levies which the prince made to oppose his return; the divisions which appeared publicly in the duke's family, between those that were attached to the prince and those that were my friends; encouraged those that supported the cardinal's interest with the queen. The queen herself had but too much courage in things which she was inclined to. D'Hocquincourt, who went secretly to Breule, shewed the cardinal a list of 8000 men ready to receive him upon the frontiers, and to carry him in a triumphant manner as far as Poitiers. I have learnt of one who was present at their conversation, that nothing touched him more sensibly than the thoughts of seeing an army bearing his colours (for D'Hocquincourt had taken green colours to honour the cardinal) and that this weakness in him was observed by every body. The queen, however, continued in the way of negotiating, at the same time that she projected to make use of that of arms. Gourville took several journeys in favour of the prince. Berthet came to Paris to bring over to the cardinal's interest Mr. de Bouillon, Mr. de Turenne and me. This scene is curious enough to dwell a little longer upon it. I have already told you that messieurs de Bouillon and de Turenne had left the prince's party. They lived very retired in Paris, and except their particular friends, they were seen but by few persons. I was of that number; and knowing, as well as any other at least, of what merit and weight these gentlemen were, I omitted nothing, but to apprise the duke of it, and to engage the two brothers in his interest. His natural aversion to the eldest, which he could give no reason for, hindered him from doing what he owed to himself on this occasion; and the contempt which the youngest had for him, for a reason best known to himself, did not help to make my negotiation succeed. That of Berthet,

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who arrived at Paris just at this time, became but one between the two brothers and myself, by the means of the princess Palatine, who was equally a friend to us three, and to whom Berthet had orders to address himself directly.

She assembled us at her house betwixt twelve and one at night, where she presented Berthet to us, who after a torrent of expressions worthy a Gascon, told us that the queen, who was resolved to recall the Cardinal, was unwilling to execute her resolution without hearing what we had to say to it. Mr. de Bouillon, who swore to me an hour after in the presence of the princess Palatine, that he had not to that day received any proposals from the court, at least in form, seemed to me embarrassed; but he got off in his usual manner, that is, as a man that knew better than any body that I have ever seen, how to speak the most, when he said the least. Mr. de Turenne, who was more laconic, and in truth much more frank, turned towards me and said: 'I believe that Mr. Berthet pulls by the sleeve all those he meets with in the streets with black cloaths on, to ask their opinion about the return of the Cardinal, for I do not see any more reason to ask it of my brother and me, than of all those that have this day passed over the Pontneuf.' 'There is much less reason to ask it of me,' answered I, 'for there are persons who have this day passed upon the Pontneuf, who might give their advice on the matter; but the queen knows that this is a subject which I dare not enter upon.' Berthet replied to me bluntly, and without the least hesitation: 'And what will then become of your hat?' 'What it shall please Providence,' answered I. 'But what return will you make the queen for it?' added he. 'What I have told her a hundred times over,' answered I. 'I will come to no accommodation with the Prince, if my nomination is not revoked. But I will be friends with him to-morrow, and be one of his party, if they continue so much as to threaten me with it.' The conversation grew warm, but however it ended tolerably well; and Mr. de Bouillon observed as well as I, that Berthet's order was to rest contented with what I had so often told the queen upon that account, in case he could get no more from me.

As to messieurs de Bouillon and de Turenne, the confabulation which Berthet had with them was much stronger. I call it confabulation out of jest, because nothing was more ridiculous than to see a little insignificant fellow, sprung from the borders of Gascony, take it upon him to persuade

two of the greatest men in the world to commit the greatest piece of folly imaginable, which was to declare for the court before they had taken any measures there. They would not therefore hearken to what Berthet said to them at that time; but they entered soon after into sure measures with the court. Mr. de Turenne had the promise of commanding the armies, and Mr. de Bouillon had assurances given him of the immense recompence which he has since had in lieu of Sedan. They were so kind as to intrust me with the secret of their accommodation, though I was of a contrary party, and their confidence in me proved quickly after the cause that they were not taken up.

The duke, who was informed that they went to serve the king, and that they were to leave Paris upon such a day, and at such an hour, told me just as I came to take my leave of them, that it was necessary to arrest them, and that he was going to order the viscount d'Autel, captain of his guards, to do it. I leave you to judge what trouble this put me to, when I came on one side to consider the just occasion I should give to think that I had betrayed my friends secret, and on the other what means I could make use of to prevent the duke from executing what he had resolved. I began by expressing the doubt I was in about the truth of the information that had been given him. I represented to him the inconveniency of offending, upon a mere suspicion, persons of that quality and of that merit; and when I perceived that he relied upon his information, which in effect was very certain, and that he persisted in his resolution, I changed my note, and thought only upon delaying the thing till they had time to get away safe. Fortune favoured my design: The viscount d'Autel that was sent for, could not be found. The duke amused himself about a medal which Bruneau brought him very a-propos; and I had time to send Mr. de Turenne word by Varennes, whom I met with by great luck, to escape without losing one moment of time; and in this manner the viscount d'Autel missed the two brothers by two or three hours. The duke's vexation at it lasted not much longer; and five or six days after, having found him in good humour, I told him the thing. He did not take it amiss, and he was even so kind as to tell me, that if I had opened myself to him at the time that he mentioned the thing to me, he had given the preference to my interest in the thing, which was much more considerable than his was, by reason of the secret with which I had been entrusted. This adventure was not an
obstacle,

obstacle, as you may think, to the strengthening the old friendship that was between Mr. Turenne and me.

You have already seen, in more than one place of these memoirs, that Mr. de la Rochefoucaut's friendship for me was not upon the same foot. A mark I received of it, which deserves not to be omitted, is this. Mr. Talon, who is now secretary of the king's closet, and was even at that time attached to the interest of the cardinal, came one morning into my chamber as I was in bed; and after making me a compliment, and naming himself, (for I did not so much as know him by sight) he told me that though he was not in my interest, he thought himself obliged to give me notice of the danger which I ran. That his detestation for evil acts, and his respect for my person, obliged him to tell me, that Gourville, and la Roche Corbon, who belonged to Mr. de la Rochefoucaut, and was major of the garrison of Damvilliers, had like to have assassinated me the day before upon the key which is over-against the Pont-Bourbon. I returned thanks, as you may well judge, to Mr. Talon, for whom I shall certainly preserve so long as I live a heart full of gratitude. But being used to receive advices of this nature, I did not make due reflection upon the name and the merit of the person that gave me this notice, and I was not prevented by it from going the next evening to madam de Pomereux's alone in my coach, with no other followers but two pages, and three or four footmen. Mr. Talon came again to me the next morning; and after having expressed some surprize, at the little attention I had to his first advice, he told me that the gentlemen he had spoke to me of, had again missed me about a quarter of an hour, near the Blancs-manteaux, the night before about nine, which was just the time I came away from Madam de Pomereux. This second advice, which seemed to me more particular than the other, awakened me from my lethargy. I kept upon my guard, and walked abroad in a condition not to be surprized. I enquired, by means of Mr. Talon himself, of the whole detail. I got la Roche Corbon arrested and examined before the lieutenant-eriminal. He said he was ordered by Mr. de la Rochefoucaut to take me away by force and carry me to Damvilliers: for that purpose he had taken with him sixty chosen men out of the garrison of that place, which he had got into Paris one by one; that Gourville and he having observed that I came away every night from the Hôtel de Chevreuse, between twelve and one, with ten or twelve gentlemen only, in two coaches,

coaches, they had posted their men under the arch which is over-against the Pont-Bourbon; that perceiving upon such a night that I had taken a contrary way to that of the key, they lay in wait for me the next night near the Blancs-manteaux, where they had again missed me, because the man who was to have watched my coming from madam de Pomereux's had spent his time in drinking at a tavern that was near. This is la Roche Corbon's deposition, of which the lieutenant-criminal shewed the duke of Orleans the original in my presence. You will easily believe that after such a confession it had not been a difficult matter for me to get him broke upon the wheel, and that if he had been put to the rack, he had perhaps confessed something more than a design of carrying me away forcibly. The count de Pas, brother to Mr. de Feuquieres, and to the present count de Pas, to whom I had a very great obligation, came to intreat me to give him his life, which I granted him. I obliged the duke to order the lieutenant-criminal to cease his proceedings, and as the duke was telling me, that it ought at least to be carried as far as the rack, to draw from him the whole truth, I answered him in the hearing of all those that were present: 'Tis something so brave, sir, so gallant, and so extraordinary, to men that undertake things of this nature, to expose themselves to utter ruin, if they fail to execute an action as difficult as that of taking away forcibly a man who never goes by night unaccompanied, and of carrying him sixty leagues beyond the frontiers of France; I say, 'tis something so gallant to run that risk, rather than resolve upon assassinating the person; that 'tis best in my opinion not to penetrate too far, for fear of discovering something that disfigures a generosity which does honour to our age.' Every one laughed at what I said, and perhaps you will do the like. The truth is, that I was willing to shew my gratitude to the count de Pas, who had obliged me very sensibly two or three months before, by sending me back, gratis, all the cattle of Commercy which was his by the rules of war, having re-taken it after the twenty-four hours allowed. I was afraid that if the matter was carried farther, and that the design of an assassination, which was already but too visible, was once fully proved, it would be no longer in my power to get that unhappy gentleman out of the hands of the parliament. I caused the proceedings to cease by the instances I made to the lieutenant-criminal. I intreated the duke to cause the prisoner to be by his authority removed to the Bastille,

Bastille, the duke refusing to set him at liberty, though I pressed him to do it. The prisoner however found means to escape five or six months after, being but very slightly guarded. A gentleman who belongs to me, whose name is Malclerc, having got with him la Forêt, lieutenant to the provost de Lille, arrested Gourville at Montlhery, as he was passing through that place to go to the court, where Mr. de la Rochefoucault had always some secret negotiations; for Gourville had not been above three or four hours under arrest, when an order came from the first president to set him free.

It must be owned that I could not have escaped that enterprize but by a kind of miracle. The day that they missed me upon the key, I went to Mr. de Caumartin, to whom I said that I was so weary of riding always in the streets with five or six coaches full of gentlemen, and of fire-arms, that I desired him to take me into his, and to carry me without any liveries to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, where I intended to be betimes, though my design was to sup there. Mr. de Caumartin made many difficulties about it, because of the danger to which I was continually exposed; and he consented to it only upon my promising that he should be rid of his charge at my return, and that my people should wait on me in the evening at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, as it was their custom to do. Upon my promising this, I sat myself down at the back part of his coach, the curtains being half way down, and I remember that meeting upon the key with some men with buff-coats, he said to me: 'These men lie perhaps here in wait for you.' I made then no manner of reflection upon it; I spent the whole evening at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, and at my coming away it happened that I had but nine gentlemen to accompany me, which was a very unfit number to prevent my being assassinated. Madam de Rhodes, who had that evening a mourning coach quite new, finding that it rained, desired me to take her into my coach, fearing her own would daub her. I excused it at first, bantering her upon her nicety. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse came running after me to the stair-case, and obliged me to do it; and this was what saved my life, because I passed through the street of St. Honoré to go to the hôtel de Brissac, where madam de Rhodes lodged, by which means they missed me upon the key. If you add to this circumstance, that of the Blanc-manteaux, and if you reflect on the uncommon generosity of Mr. Talon, who being of a party so directly opposite to mine, was yet so honest as to give

give me notice of this enterprize, you will confess that no man has it in his power to dispose of the life of another man. I now come to what I have promised you in respect to the consequences which the king's journey produced.

I think that I was telling you that being convinced in less than a fortnight's time, that after the fault we had committed there was no way left for us to take but what was accompanied with terrible inconveniencies, we at last chose one that was, as it always proves in like cases, the most dangerous of all, because we came to no general determination, but every one of us was left to follow the way he thought least hurtful. The duke did not take up arms with the prince, and thought thereby that he did much for the court. He declared himself in Paris and in the parliament against Mazarin's return, fancying that that was sufficient to satisfy the public. Mr. de Chateaufneuf continued for some time, whilst the court was at Poitiers, to think that he might amuse the queen by putting her in hopes of restoring her favourite at such conjunctures as he thought remote. But when he came to perceive that the impatience of the queen and the eagerness of the cardinal had brought these conjunctures much nearer than he expected, he resolved upon speaking plainly, and upon opposing directly Mazarin's return; which he did with that sort of freedom which always proves as useless as it is odious, when it is only made use of in default of success in one's artifice. The parliament, who was too far engaged against Mazarin to suffer his being restored, appeared exasperated at the least signs that were seen of it. But on the other side, being unwilling to do any thing contrary to form and to the king's authority, those of that body were themselves breaking all the measures that might be taken in order to prevent Mazarin's being restored. As to myself, I was against it as much as any body; but being as much against the prince's being restored, for the reasons which I have mentioned before, I was forced against my will to contribute to the first, by a conduct, which, though judicious for the present, because it was necessary, was inexcusable in its first principle, which was the committing one of those capital errors after which it is impossible to do any thing wisely. This was at last the thing that undid us all, as you will see by the sequel.

The duke, who was the man in the world who loved best to invent reasons that might prevent his coming to any determination, had all along been persuading himself that the queen would never bring to effect the intention, which he owned she had and would always have of recalling the cardinal

to

to court. When it was no longer in his power to deceive himself, he thought that the only remedy would be to embarrass the queen without exasperating her; and I observe, on this occasion what I have done on many others, That men are naturally led to fancy that they will amuse others by the same means that they would themselves be amused by. The duke never came to act but when he was pressed to it, and Fremont used to call him the inventor of interlocutory decrees. Of all the means that could be used to press him to act, the most effectual and infallible was that of fear; so that when he was free from that passion he would naturally remain inactive. The same temper that causes this disposition, causes likewise a disposition to resolve upon nothing till you are necessitated to do it. The duke judged of the queen's disposition by his own; and I remember that one day as I was representing to him that it was not only prudent, but even necessary to change one's conduct according to the different minds of those one has to do with; he answered me in these very words: 'That's a mistake; every body thinks alike; but there are persons that can better hide their thoughts than others.' The first reflection I made on these words was, that the greatest imperfection that men have, is the pleasure they take in persuading themselves that others are not free from the imperfections which they perceive themselves subject to. The duke was deceived in this occasion, more still than in any other; for the queen's boldness was sufficient, without any further exasperation (which was the thing the duke would avoid) to bring her to execute her resolution; and that same boldness made her likewise overcome all the obstacles whereby the duke thought to traverse her. He was still willing to fancy that by not joining with the prince, and by sending sometimes Mr. Damville, sometimes Laumont to negotiate for him at court, he should amuse the queen, whom he thought he might restrain by the apprehension of his declaring against the court. He was likewise willing to fancy that by inciting the parliament against the return of the minister, which he did in a public manner, he should only give the court that sort of apprehension which is fitter to restrain than to hurry on. As the duke spoke very well, he one day expressed his whole thoughts very finely upon that subject, to the president de Bellievre and to me, which however did not at all persuade us. We opposed a multitude of reasons to what he had said; but as he was destroying all our reasons, by repeating only what I have already mentioned, that is, by saying to us: 'We have committed the fault of letting the queen go out
' of

‘ of Paris; all our steps now cannot be but faulty, and we
 ‘ can resolve upon nothing that is good; we must only go on
 ‘ as each day’s occasions shall require, and that being granted,
 ‘ there is nothing to be done but what I have said.’ It was on
 this occasion that I proposed to the duke to form a third
 party, for which I have since received so many reproaches,
 and which I had thought on but two days before. You
 have here the whole plan of it.

I can say truly, and without vanity, that as soon as I saw
 the queen out of Paris with an army, I took it almost for
 granted that the cardinal’s return was infallible; judging
 that the weakness of the duke, the disappointment of the
 parliament, the negotiations to which the several cabals that
 divided the prince’s party were altogether inclined, could not
 hold long against the queen’s obstinacy and the weight of the
 royal authority. I have no design to value myself for having
 betimes discovered this, because I am forced to own that
 having made this discovery only from the time that the court
 was got to Poitiers, I made it too late. I have already men-
 tioned, and I cannot do it too much, that a greater fault
 than ours was never committed, in not opposing the king’s
 journey, which was still aggravated, because nothing could
 be more obvious than the consequences. This gross mis-
 take into which every one of us fell in emulation of one ano-
 ther, is one of the causes that has sometimes obliged me to
 tell you, that there are faults that can hardly proceed from
 humanity, being so very gross that creatures endowed with
 common sense could never, one would think, be guilty of
 them.

After I had enough considered and weighed the conse-
 quences of this, I thought of some means for repairing it as
 to my particular; and having made all the reflections on the
 state of things which you have seen dispersed in the preced-
 ing pages, I found but two ways to come off, one of which
 I have mentioned before, the duke, whose genius it suited
 with, having from the first and of himself entered into it. It
 might have suited with my interest, because the duke, by it,
 not declaring himself for the prince, and continuing his ne-
 gotiations at court, gave me time thereby to solicit for my
 hat. But this way appeared good to me no farther than ne-
 cessity absolutely required it; because it could not procure
 the advantage which it might perhaps give by the event to the
 post of cardinal, without being very suspicious to all those
 who were in the interest of what was called the public. I

was

was altogether unwilling to lose that public, and this consideration, added to the others, which I have mentioned before, made me be dissatisfied with a conduct, the appearances of which were not good, and the success besides very uncertain. I therefore thought of another way, which was greater and nobler, and which I pitched upon for that reason without any hesitation: it was, to endeavour to bring the duke to form publicly a third party, apart from the prince, and composed of Paris, and of most of the great cities of the kingdom, which were very much disposed to stir, and in some of which I had good intelligence. The count de * Fuensaldagne, who thought that the distrust I had of the prince's ill-will to me, was the only thing that obliged me to keep some measures with the court, had sent don Antonia de la Crusa to me, with some proposals that gave me the first hint of the project which I am now speaking of. That gentleman had offered to make a secret treaty with me, whereby he engaged to assist me with money, without obliging me to any thing that might discover my intelligence with Spain. The notion which I formed to myself from many other circumstances that happened at that time, was to propose to the duke to declare publicly in the parliament, that finding the queen resolved to restore cardinal Mazarin to his former post, he was resolved on his side to oppose it by all the ways which his birth and his public engagements would permit him to use; that it would agree neither with his prudence nor his honour to content himself with the remonstrances of the parliament, which the queen would at first elude, and contemn at last; whilst the cardinal was levying forces to enter into France, and to render himself master of the king's person, as he was already master of the queen's inclinations; that being the king's uncle, he thought himself bound to tell the company that they were obliged in justice to join with him in a conjuncture, when properly speaking the thing in question was only the preservation of their own arrests, and of the declarations which were owing to their instances; that their prudence did no less require it, the company being well apprised that the whole city conspired with him in a design so necessary to the good of the kingdom; that he was unwilling to discover

* So much mention having been made in these memoirs of the count de Fuensaldagne and of the court of Brussels, some account will be given of them in the fourth volume from the lord Clarendon's history.

discover his mind so openly to them, before he had put himself in a condition that might permit him to assure them of the success, considering the good order into which he had put affairs; that he had so much in ready money; that he was already sure of such and such places; and upon the whole, that what ought to move the company more than any other thing, and even oblige them to embrace with joy the happy necessity in which they found themselves to work jointly with him for the good of the kingdom, was the public engagement into which he entered from that moment with them, never to entertain any intelligence with the enemies of the state, and never to hearken either directly or indirectly, to any negotiation that was not proposed in full parliament, the chambers being assembled; finally, that he disowned all that the prince had transacted and was transacting with the Spaniards; and that for that reason, and because of the frequent and suspicious negotiations of all those of the prince's party, he would have no other communication with him than what common civility required in respect to a prince of his merit. This is what I proposed to the duke, and what I supported with all the reasons that might shew the possibility of putting it in practice, of which I am still altogether persuaded. I enlarged upon the inconveniencies of the opposite conduct, and I foretold him all that he afterwards saw of the conduct of the parliament, where at the same time that they were giving out arrests against the cardinal, they declared those that should oppose his return guilty of high treason.

The duke remained fixed in his resolution; either because he was afraid, as he said he was, of the union of the great cities, which indeed might become dangerous to the state; or because he was afraid that the prince should come to an accommodation with the queen, and unite with her against him; to which evil I had however shewn him more than one remedy. What appeared to me was, that the burthen was too weighty for him to bear. The truth is that it was beyond his strength, and that for that reason I was in the wrong to press him about it. It is true, besides, that the union of the great cities, considering the disposition they were in, might have fatal consequences. That made me scruple the thing, because it is certain that I have always feared what might in effect prove prejudicial to the state, and Caumartin could never approve that project for that reason. What hurried me into it, if I may say so, against my common way of acting, and against my inclination, was the confusion

confusion into which we were going to fall by following the contrary way ; and the ridicule of a conduct, whereby it appeared to me that we were all going to fight after the manner of the ancient Andabatæ. *

The second conversation which I had upon this subject with the duke in the great walk of the Tuilleries, was pretty curious, and by the event almost prophetic. I said to his royal highness ; ' What will become of you, sir, when the prince is reconciled with the court, or gone over into Spain ? When the parliament shall give out arrests against the cardinal, and declare those criminal that shall oppose his return ? When you can no longer, with honour or safety, remain a Frondeur, or become a Mazarinian.' The duke answered ; ' I shall remain a son of France ; you will become a cardinal, and keep your coadjutorship.' To which I replied instantly, as if I had been moved by some enthusiast : ' You will be a son of France confined at Blois, and I a cardinal at the castle of Vincennes.' The duke was not moved, whatever I could say ; and so we were forced from day to day to brush on blind-fold, for so Patru called our way of acting. I will enter into the particulars of our conduct, after I have given you an account of a very vexatious thing that happened to me at that time.

Berthet, who was come to Paris, as you have already seen, to negotiate with Mr. de Bouillon, Mr. de Turenne, and me, had likewise the queen's order to see madam de Chevreuse, and to try to persuade her to attach herself still more intimately to her than she had hitherto done. He found her extremely well disposed to his negotiation. Laigues was a man full of himself, and of a temper, besides, the most changeable in the world. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse had some time before given me notice that he was every day telling her mother, that it was time to end this business ; that all was run into confusion ; and that we were all of us at a nonplus. Berthet, who was a sharp, piercing, and insolent man, having perceived Laigue's foible, made a very cunning use of it ; he threatened, he promised, and at last he engaged madam de Chevreuse to promise him that she would no way oppose the return

* *The Andabatæ were a sort of gladiators, who, according to Cicero, fought blind-fold, whence the Latin proverb, Andabatarum more pugnare.*

return of the cardinal, * and that in case she could not persuade me upon that article, she would do her utmost to hinder Mr. de Noirmoutier, who was governor of Charleville and of Mont Olympe, from sticking close to my interest, though he had the government of these places only by my means. Noirmoutier suffered himself to be corrupted by her, under colour of the hopes she gave him from the court; so that when I would oblige him to offer his services to the duke, at the time that the cardinal was entering into France with his troops, he declared to me that he belonged to the king; that in any thing that related personally to me, he would always pass over all manner of considerations; but that in the present conjuncture, when the matter in question was only a falling out between the duke and the court, he thought it unfit for him to be wanting to his duty. You may judge how much I resented this action. I complained of him in most bitter terms, and I carried my passion so far, that though I went every day to see mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who declared herself openly against her mother on this occasion, I saluted neither him nor Laigues, and I hardly opened my mouth to madam de Chevreuse. I return to my narration.

Upon the opening of the parliament at the St. Martin's of the year 1651, the company deputed messieurs Doujat and Baron to the duke of Orleans, who was at Limours, to desire him to come and take his seat upon account of a declaration which the king had sent to their bar upon the 8th of October, whereby he declared the prince guilty of high treason.

The duke came to the parliament on the 20th of November, and the first president having enlarged, even emphatically, upon all that passed in Guienne, concluded for registering the declaration as a thing necessary, in order to obey the king's command, which was extremely just (that was his term.) The duke, who, as you have seen before, had resolved otherwise, answered the first president, that this matter was not to be hurried on; that there must be time allowed to bring it to an accommodation; that it was the thing to which

* I find in madam de Motteville's memoirs, a treaty pretended to be concluded between cardinal Mazarin, madam de Chevreuse, Mr. de Chateauneuf, and the coadjutor, for restoring the cardinal, which shall be inserted at length in the fourth volume.

which he applied himself to the best of his power; that Mr. Damville was on the road, bringing him news from the court; that it was surprizing that they should press a declaration against a prince of the blood, and that not the least notice should be taken of cardinal Mazarin's preparations, for entering in arms into the kingdom.

I should tire you to no manner of purpose if I entered into the detail of what passed in the assemblies of the chambers, which began, as I just now said, upon the 20th of November; since those of the 23d, of the 24th, and of the 28th of that month, and of the first and second of December, were, properly speaking, employed only in repeating continually the necessity of registering the declaration, which the first president pressed in the king's name; and in hearing the several reasons which the duke alledged to oblige the company to delay it. At one time he expected the return of a gentleman whom he had sent to court to negotiate; at another he assured the company that Mr. Damville was to come very soon from the court, with alterations that softened it; at other times he raised difficulties about the form that ought to be observed, when the matter in question was the condemning a prince of the blood; at others he maintained that the thing necessarily previous to all, was to think of taking proper precautions against the return of the cardinal; at others he presented letters from the prince, some directed to the king, and some to the parliament, whereby he demanded to clear himself. When he found that the parliament would not suffer these letters to be read, because they came from a prince who was in arms against his king, and that most of the company were inclining to have the declaration registered, he gave the thing over, and he sent Mr. de Croissi to the parliament upon the 4th, to desire the company not to expect him when the registering of the declaration was to be put to the vote, having resolved not to be present on that occasion. The matter was debated without him, and was carried by a majority of 120 votes there having been in the debate three or four different opinions, but more in respect to form than to substance; and it was decreed to have the declaration read and registered, that it might be executed according to its form and tenor.

What put the duke into a consternation, was that Croissi having desired the company, after the debate was over, to name a day to deliberate about the return of cardinal Mazarin, which was no longer questioned; he was hardly heard.

The

The duke spoke to me of it that evening, and told me that he was resolved to stir up the people in order to awaken the parliament; to which I answered in these very words; 'The parliament, sir, will awake, only to make speeches against the cardinal, and then will fall again into a lethargic sleep. Besides, I desire your royal highness to consider that the clock had struck twelve when Mr. de Croissi spoke, and that every body wanted their dinner.' He took this last for a jest, though I spoke it very seriously; he ordered Ornano, master of his wardrobe, to raise a kind of commotion by the means of Maillard, of whom I have had occasion to speak in the second volume of these memoirs. That wretch, to cover his game the better, went with twenty or thirty of his gang to make a noise at the duke's palace, from whence they went to the first president, who ordered his gates to be opened to them, and speaking with his usual intrepidity, he threatened to send them to the gallows.

Upon the 7th the parliament in a full assembly of the chambers put out an arrest to prevent, for the future, these insolences. However the company thought fit to consider that it was necessary for them to take off the pretences which occasioned them, and they assembled upon the 9th to deliberate upon the current report of the sudden return of the cardinal. The duke having said in that assembly, that that return was but too certain, the first president tried to shift it off by proposing to call for the king's counsel, and to get the informations read, which, according to former arrests, ought to have been made against the cardinal. Mr. Talon represented that the matter in question had nothing to do with these informations; that the cardinal having been condemned by the king's declaration, there was no need of other proofs; and that if any informations were to be made, it could only be about the contraventions against that declaration. His conclusions were, to depute to his majesty to inform him of the current report of the cardinal's return, and to intreat him to confirm what he had promised to all his people upon this subject, by his royal word. He added, that all governors of provinces and of towns should be forbidden to give passage to the cardinal, and that all other parliaments should be informed of this arrest, and exhorted to put out such a one. After these conclusions of the advocate-general, they went on to deliver their opinions; but having not time to go through

through it that day, and the duke finding himself ill on the Sunday night, the assembly was put off to Wednesday the 15th of December. The company upon that day agreed almost unanimously to put out an arrest conformable to the advocate-general's conclusions, which, besides what I have mentioned, imported, that the king should be intreated to acquaint the pope and other foreign princes with the reasons that had obliged him to remove the cardinal from his person, and from his councils.

There was an interlude that day which will convince you that it was not without reason that I had foreseen how difficult it would be for me to act my part conformably to the conduct which we followed. Machaut and Fleury, two counsellors devoted altogether to the prince, having said in their speeches, that the disorders of the state were occasioned only by persons who would by any means whatsoever carry the cardinal's hat, I interrupted the first to tell him, that I was so used to see cardinal's hats in my family, that it was not likely that I should be so much dazzled at its colour, as to be prompted by it to do all the hurt with which I was charged. As one ought not to interrupt any body whilst he is speaking, a great clamour arose against me in favour of Machaut. I begged of the company to excuse my warmth, which however, added I, does not proceed from want of respect.

One of the company having said in delivering his opinion, that they ought to proceed in respect of cardinal Mazarin, as was formerly done in respect of the cardinal de Châtillon, brother to the admiral de Coligny, which was to set a price upon his head, I rose up, as did likewise all the other members that were clergymen, they being forbidden by the canons of the church to assist at any deliberations where the shedding of blood is mentioned.

Upon the 18th those of the inquests went by deputies to the grand chamber, to ask for an assembly of the chambers, on occasion of a letter which cardinal Mazarin had written to Mr. d'Elbeuf, to ask his advice about his return into France. The first president owned that he had that letter, which Mr. d'Elbeuf had sent to him; that he had at the same time dispatched an express to the king to give him an account of it, and to let him know the consequence; that he was expecting the return of his express, intending afterwards to assemble the chambers, if the king's answer was not to his satisfaction. Those of the inquests were not satisfied with this. They sent again the next day, which was the 19th,

19th, their deputies to the grand chamber, and the first president was obliged to assemble the chambers upon the 20th, having first invited the duke to be present. The first president having then acquainted the company that the occasion of this assembly was the above-mentioned letter, and the coming of Mr. de Noailles to Mr. d'Elbeuf, the king's counsel were sent for, who, by the mouth of Mr. Talon, gave their conclusions, which were, that, conformably to the arrest given upon such a day, the parliament should, as soon as possible, send deputies to the king to inform his majesty of what passed upon the frontiers; that his majesty should be intreated to write to the elector of Cologne that he should order the cardinal to withdraw from his dominions; that the duke of Orleans should be desired to send to the king in his own name, to the same effect, and to send likewise to the mareschal d'Hocquincourt, and to the other generals, to give them notice of cardinal Mazarin's design to return into France; that some of the company should be named to go upon the frontiers, and make a verbal process of what was doing there in relation to that return; that the mayors and the magistrates of places should be forbidden to give the cardinal passage, or a place of assembly to any troops that intended to favour him, or any retreat to any of his relations or servants; that Mr. de Noailles * should be summoned to appear in person at the bar of this parliament, to give an account of the correspondence which he entertained with him; and that monitory letters † should be published, the better to discover what that correspondence was. This is an abstract of the conclusions conformably to which the arrest was given.

You think, without doubt, the cardinal crushed by this last arrest of the parliament, considering that the king's counsel themselves had furnished all the materials towards his ruin? But you mistake, for at the same instant that that arrest was agreed on, and that people's passions were at the highest, a counsellor having said, that the troops which were assembled upon the frontiers for the service of Mazarin would make a jest of their arrest, if it was not signified to them by men armed with

* I find Noailles in the French copy, but I believe it should be Navailles.

† Letters from the spiritual judge to be read in all parish churches, admonishing those who are informed of the truth of any fact in question, to declare it on oath, under pain of excommunication.

with good muskets and pikes; that counsellor, I say, whose name I do not remember, but who spoke, as you see, pretty much to the purpose, was repulsed with a general outcry, as if he had said the most foolish thing in the world, the whole company crying out aloud that the king alone had a right to withdraw or to disband his own forces.

But I desire you to reconcile, if you can, that tender regard for the king's authority, with an arrest that forbid at the same time all towns to give passage to one whom that authority would restore. What is most wonderful is, that a thing that appears a prodigy to future ages, is not felt at the moment, and that those whom I have heard reason since upon this subject in the same manner I do, would have sworn at that time that there was nothing contradictory, between the arrest and the restriction. What I have seen during our troubles has explained to me in more than one occasion, what I could not before comprehend in history. You find there some facts so opposite to one another that they become incredible; but experience teaches us that all that appears incredible is not false. You will still find this truth better supported by what passed after this in the parliament, which I intend to come to, after I have mentioned some circumstances that relate to the court.

There was some contest there in the cabinet council about the manner in which the queen was to act in respect to the parliament; some said that she ought to manage that company carefully, and others that it would be best to abandon them to themselves; these were the words which Brachet used, speaking to the queen. They had been inspired and dictated to him by Menardeau Champré, a counsellor of the grand chamber, and a man of good sense. He had charged Brachet to tell the queen from him, that the best way that she could take was to let every thing at Paris run into confusion, it being always a means to restore the royal authority, when once that confusion is arrived to a certain pitch: that to that effect she ought to order the first president to come to court, and execute there his office of lord-keeper; to do the like to Mr. de la Vieuville, and to all those that were under him, in his post of the finances; and to cause likewise the grand council, &c. to come to the court. This advice, which was grounded upon the disappointments which an action of this nature would produce, in a city where it cannot be disowned, but that all the several establishments are linked in a very strict manner together, was opposed with a great deal of force by all those who were afraid that the cardinal's enemies would make use against him

of the weakness of the president le Bailleul, who by the first president's absence would be left at the head of the parliament, and of the animosity of the people which such an action would serve only to increase. The cardinal was a long while in suspense about the reasons that supported these two opinions; though the queen, who by her inclination was always led to think the most violent the best, had already declared for the first. What determined him, as I have learnt since of the Marechal de la Ferté, was what Mr. de Senneterre wrote to him in very strong terms, in favour of the first opinion, and his frightening him with the first president's manner of speaking in the parliament, which was often very bold, and did sometimes, added Senneterre, more harm than his good intentions could do good: but that was saying too much by far. The first president at last left Paris by the king's order, even without taking his leave of the parliament, which he did by the advice of Mr. de Champlatreux, pretty much against his inclination. Mr. de Champlatreux was in the right, because he might certainly have run some risk in the commotion which such a step might have occasioned. I went to take my leave of him the day before he left Paris, and he said these very words to me: 'I am going to court, and shall there speak the truth; after which the king must be obeyed.' I am persuaded that he really was as good as his word. I return to the parliament.

Upon the 29th of December the king's counsel came to the grand chamber, and presented to the company a lettre-de-cachet from the king, which enjoined them to delay the sending the deputies who had been named in the arrest of the 13th to go to his majesty, because he had more than sufficiently explained his intentions to them formerly. Mr. Talon added, that he was obliged by the duty of his place to represent to them the commotion which such a deputation might cause in a time so full of troubles. 'You see, continued he, the whole kingdom in motion, and we have here a letter from the parliament of Rouen, which informs us that they have put out an arrest against Cardinal Mazarin, in conformity to yours of the 13th.'

The duke of Orleans spoke next. He said that cardinal Mazarin was arrived at Sedan on the 25th, that the Marechals d'Hocquincourt and de la Ferté were going to join him with an army, in order to bring him to court: and that it was time to oppose his designs, of which there was no longer any room to doubt. I cannot express to what degree people's minds

minds were moved. They would hardly stay till the king's counsel had taken their conclusions, which were to send incessantly their deputies to the king, and to declare from this moment cardinal Mazarin and his adherents guilty of high-treason; to enjoin the commons to fall upon them; to forbid the mayors and magistrates of towns to give them passage; to sell his library and all his household goods. The arrest added to these conclusions, that the sum of 150,000 livres should be taken preferably, out of the sale, to be given to the man who should bring the cardinal, dead or alive. At the mentioning of this all the ecclesiastics rose up, for the reason I have already mentioned.

No doubt but you think affairs very much exasperated, and you will still be the more persuaded of it, when I have told you that upon the second of January of the year 1652, a second arrest came out upon the conclusions of the king's counsel, and upon advice that the cardinal had already passed Epernay, by which it was farther ordered, that all the other parliaments should be desired to give a like arrest to that of Paris of the 29th of December; that two more deputies should be sent with the four already named, to the passages, with an order to arm the commons; that the duke of Orleans's forces should be commanded to oppose the march of the cardinal, and that orders should be sent for their subsistence. Is it not true that after these conclusions and this arrest, it was likely that the parliament was for a war? Nothing like it. A counsellor having said that the first step for the subsisting the troops, was the having of money, which he proposed to take out of that part of the escheats that related to the annual duty, he was repulsed with indignation and outcries; and the same company that had just before ordered the march of the duke of Orleans's troops, in order to oppose those of the king's, treated the proposals of touching the king's money with the same scruple of conscience, as they would have done in a time of the greatest tranquillity. I said to the duke, at our coming away, that he might see that I had not deceived him when I had assured him so often, that a civil war could be but ill managed with the conclusions of the king's counsel. He had another opportunity of being convinced of it the next day; for the parliament being assembled, and the marquis de Sablonnières, colonel of the regiment of Vallois, coming in to him and telling him that du Coudray-Giviers, one of those named to arm the commons, had been killed, and that Betaud, who was the other, had been taken

prisoner by the enemies, the commotion was such in the company, that it could not have been greater or more general, if the fact had been some horrible and detestable murder, committed with premeditated malice, in a time of perfect tranquillity. I remember that Bachaumont, who sat that day behind me, whispered me these words in the ear by way of raillery against his brother counsellors: 'I am going to gain a mighty reputation, for my opinion shall be to have Mr. d'Hocquincourt hanged and quartered for having been so insolent as to fall upon persons that are arming the commons against him.' The passion which the company shewed at this prevarication of Mr. d'Hocquincourt's, against which they made a decree in form, was in my opinion the cause of their not refusing audience to a gentleman sent by the prince of Condé, with a letter and a petition to them; for I can find no other reason for it, after having registered the king's declaration against the prince; when this same parliament had refused to receive a letter and a remonstrance, sent to them from that prince upon the second of December, which was a time when there were as yet no formal proceedings begun in the parliament against him. Upon the 11th in the evening, being with Mr. Talon, I made him observe this circumstance; and he, who had himself in his conclusions been for the receiving the letter, made me this answer: 'We no longer know what we are a doing; we are out of the beaten road.' That gentleman however insisted in his conclusions, that they ought not to touch the king's money, which he affirmed to be sacred, whatever should happen. Judge, I beseech you, how that could agree with the conclusions taken by him two or three days before, whereby he was for arming the commons and for ordering the duke's troops to march and oppose those of the king. I have wondered a thousand times at the want of sense of those wretched gazetteers that have written the history of those times. I have not met with any one that has so much as made the least reflection upon those contradictions, which are however the things that best deserve to be mentioned and observed. I was at a loss even at that time in what I observed in Mr. Talon's conduct, that gentleman being certainly one of a resolute mind and of a solid judgment, which made me sometimes believe that what he did was affected. But I remember that I lost that opinion, after I had well considered of it; and that I had sufficient reasons (the particulars of which are now out of my memory) to be persuaded that he was like the rest, carried away by the stream, which in
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these sort of times ebbs and flows with a violence that agitates men in such an opposite manner.

This is exactly what happened to Mr. Talon, in the deliberation of which I am now speaking ; for after his having concluded to give entrance to the prince's gentleman, and to have the prince's letter and petition read, he added, that both ought to be sent to the king, and that the company ought not to deliberate upon it till they had an answer from his majesty. The prince's letter to the parliament was only an offer he made to the company of his person and of his forces, against the common enemy ; and his petition tended towards having the execution of the declaration against him, which had been registered, put off till the declarations and arrests given against the cardinal had had their full and entire effect.

They could not put an end to the deliberation that day, though they had been upon it till three in the afternoon. It was made an end of the next day, and an arrest was given, whereby it was ordered that Mr. d'Hocquincourt should be required to set messieurs Betaud and Giviers at liberty, this last not being killed as it had been reported, but having only been made a prisoner with the other ; and that in case of a refusal, Mr. d'Hocquincourt and all his posterity should be made answerable for what might happen to them ; that the declaration and arrests given against the cardinal should be executed ; that all his majesty's subjects should be forbidden to acknowledge the marechal d'Hocquincourt and others that assisted the cardinal as commanders of the king's forces ; and that a stop should be put to the execution of the declaration and arrests given against the prince of Condé, till the declaration and arrests against the cardinal should be entirely executed.

What passed at the parliament on the 16th and 19th of January is of no moment. Mr. de Nemours arrived at Paris on the 19th in the evening, coming from Bourdeaux, and designing to go into Flanders, to bring from thence some forces which the Spaniards had promised the prince. It is necessary to take up a little higher the particulars relating to this journey of Mr. de Nemours, which occasioned much jealousy to the duke of Orleans.

I believe that I have already told you, that the duke was five or six times in a day cruelly embarrassed, being persuaded that every thing went at random, and that it was even impossible to remedy it. There were instants in which he was inspired with that sort of courage that proceeds from despair, and it was in these instants that he used to say, that the worst that could

could happen to him would be to live in quiet at Blois. But the dutchess, who did not like that kind of quiet for him, often troubled the agreeable ideas which he was forming to himself of it, and consequently often gave him apprehensions of the inconveniencies, which he naturally feared already but too much. The state in which affairs were, did not help to hearten him, for besides his fancying himself always upon the borders of precipices, the steps which he really was obliged to take and follow, were of a nature that might cause the most stout and resolute to stumble. The transactions that passed upon Maundy-Thurday, could not get out of his mind; and as he feared besides extremely to be under the dependance of the prince, which he looked upon as infallible if he should unite entirely with him, he lived in such a constraint that he was forced ten times a day to change his most natural steps, and at the time that he was in hopes that the cardinal's return might be still traversed by some other means than a civil war, he had used himself so much to preserve the regards proper to such a disposition, that when he was obliged to change his measures, his conduct became irregular, and altogether like that of the parliament.

You have already seen more than once that the company, in the same sitting, ordered the marching of forces, and would not allow those forces the means to subsist; that they armed the people against forces, who had their commissions and orders in due form from the king, and opposed at the same time with a mighty noise, those that proposed the disbanding of these forces; that they enjoined the commons to fall upon the generals of the king's army that assisted Mazarin, and forbid at the same instant, upon pain of death, to make any levies without an express commission from his majesty. The duke, who imagined that by remaining united to the parliament he should oppose Mazarin independently of the prince, gave way, by this union, still more easily to his natural inclination, in which he was already but too much helped by his irresolution. That inclination led him, as I have already said, to keep the balance even on both sides, whenever he found any room to do it. This medium, to which he was before inclined, became necessary by his union with a company whose steps were always grounded upon the maxim of reconciling the royal ordinances with a civil war. This ridicule is in some manner hid in respect to the parliament, by reason of the majesty of that great body, which is looked upon by most people as infallible. But it always discovers itself very soon in private persons, of what rank

rank soever, let them even be princes of the blood, or sons of France. It is what I was saying every day to the duke, who agreed to it, but had always the same answer in readiness, which was: 'What better steps can be taken?' I believe that he repeated that saying above fifty times in a conversation which I had with him the day that Mr. de Nemours arrived at Paris. The duke expressing a great deal of trouble about the forces which he was going to fetch out of Flanders, for fear they should make the prince of Condé too strong, and adding, that that prince afterwards would make use of them to serve his own turn, I told him, that I was excessively sorry to see him in a state, wherein nothing could bring him comfort, and every thing was able to, and must, afflict him. 'If the prince is beaten,' added I, 'what will you do with the parliament, considering that that company would not move one step without the conclusions of the king's counsel, even in case that the cardinal was with an army at the door of the grand chamber? What will you do if the prince is victorious, when you stand already in fear of 4000 men that are fetching to join him?'

Though I should have been very sorry, both by reason of the engagement I was in with the queen upon that subject, and likewise upon account of my private interest, that the duke should have united intimately with the prince, which he could not do, besides, without submitting shamefully to him, considering the inequality of their two genius's, I should have been glad however that his weakness should not have filled him with that envy and fear which he shewed on his account, because it seemed to me that mediums might have been found to make the prince serviceable to his ends, without giving him all the advantages which he was afraid of. I own that those mediums had in them a great deal of difficulty, and consequently that it was impossible for the duke to make use of them, considering that he never made any difference between things difficult, and things impossible. It is incredible to think what pains I took to persuade him that prudence required of him to do his best to prevent the parliament from declaring against these auxiliary troops that were to come to the prince. I represented to him with vigour, all the reasons that obliged him not to deprive the prince of that assistance, in the present posture of affairs, and not to accustom the company to condemn the steps that were taking against Mazarin. I agreed with him that it was necessary to blame in public the union with the Spaniards, that there might

might appear no alteration in his conduct ; but I maintained that he ought at the same time to elude the deliberations which the company would make upon that subject ; and I proposed to him the means to do it, which by the diversions that would naturally offer of themselves, and by the weakness of the president le Bailleul, could hardly have been perceived. The duke remained for a long time resolved to let the thing take its course, because, added he, the prince is already but too strong : and after I had convinced him with my reasons, he did all that weak men never fail to do in like occasions. They turn so short when they change their opinion, that they cease to measure their steps, and run instead of walking. The duke accordingly, whatever I could say to the contrary, resolved suddenly upon justifying the march of these foreign troops, and upon justifying it in the parliament by illusory arguments that deceive nobody, but serve only to shew the intention one has to deceive. This sort of fallacy has been in use at all times, but it must be owned that in the time of cardinal Mazarin it has been studied and practised, more frequently and more insolently than in any other. It has not only been lately made use of in common affairs, but it has triumphed in public edicts, arrests, and declarations ; and I am persuaded that this public outrage done to probity has been, as I believe I have already said in the first part of these memoirs, the chiefest cause of our revolutions. The duke told me at the parliament, that these forces ought not to be reckoned as Spanish, because they were made up of Germans. You must observe that they had been for three or four years in the service of Spain in Flanders, under the command of a prince of the house of Wirtemberg, who was paid by his catholic majesty, and that many persons of quality of the Low Countries were even officers under him. I represented in vain to the duke, that what we were daily blaming the most in the cardinal's conduct, was this manner of speaking and of acting so opposite to the most known truths. He laughed at my scruple, and answered me, that I might have observed that the world desires to be deceived. This saying is true, and was verified on this occasion.

I beg leave of you to stop here for a moment, to make this observation ; that one ought not to wonder if historians, who treat of matters with which they have had nothing to do, mistake so often, when it is impossible for men who have been nearest to the facts, not to mistake likewise, in an infinity
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of occasions, mere appearances, sometimes false in every circumstance, for the real truth. There was not a man, not only in the parliament, but even in the duke's palace, who did not believe at that time that my only business with the duke was to break the measures which the prince kept with him. I should certainly have done my best to break these measures, if I had so much as perceived the least disposition in the duke to enter into any with the prince, that had been solid and essential. But I can assure you, that he was so backward, even to those, which the present state of affairs, and common prudence obliged him to hearken to, that I was forced to labour hard in order to persuade him to preserve these last measures with some sort of decency, at the same time that all the world imagined that I was doing quite the contrary. I was not sorry however for the report spread about it by the prince's partisans, though these reports cost me now and then some rebukes which I received in delivering my opinion in the assembly of the chambers. I undertook at first to turn these rebukes to my advantage, in keeping the queen in good humour with me. But she was not long amused by it; and having been informed, that though I kept strictly to the word I had given her, not to come to any accommodation with the prince, I advised the duke however not to break with him, she caused Brachet, who came to Paris at that time, to reproach me with it: I got him to write a memorial which I dictated to him, that made it clearly appear that I had not been wanting in any one thing of what I promised her; which was true, because I promised her nothing that was contrary to what I had advised the duke. Brachet told me at his coming back, that the queen was convinced of it, after having examined my reasons at his persuasion; but that Mr. de Chateauneuf had exclaimed at them, and spoke these very words to the queen: 'I am not, madam, no more than the coadjutor, for recalling the cardinal: but it is so criminal in a subject to indite a memorial like this, which I have seen, that were I his judge, I would upon this single point immediately condemn him.' The queen was so kind as to command Brachet to relate these particulars to me, and to tell me that the cardinal would be more true to me than that wretch, though I gave him no occasion: these were her words. I return to the parliament.

What passed there from the 12th to the 24th of January 1652, is not worthy of your attention, nothing else almost

having been spoken of but the affair of messieurs Betaud and Giviers, which was treated all the while as if it had been an assassination committed in cold blood next to the parliament-hall.

Upon the 24th the president de Bellievre, and the other deputies who had been at Poitiers, reported the remonstrances which they had made to the king, with all the force and vehemence imaginable, in the name of the company, against the return of the cardinal. They said that his majesty, after advising with the queen and his counsel, had caused the lord-keeper to answer to them in his presence, that when the parliament had given their last arrests, they were not apprized, without doubt, that cardinal Mazarin had not made any levies of forces but by the express command of his majesty; that he had the king's orders to enter into France, and to bring these forces along with him; that the king therefore took not ill what the company had hitherto done; but that he made, likewise no doubt that when they had learnt these particulars, and were further informed that cardinal Mazarin required only the means of clearing himself, they would give an example to all his subjects of the obedience which they owed him. I leave you to judge of the commotion which an answer so little conformable to the solemn promises which the queen had repeated above ten times, must cause in the parliament. The duke of Orleans did not appease it, by saying that the king had sent Ruvigny to speak to him in the like manner, and to order him to send to their garrisons the regiments that went under his name. The heat was still increased by the arrests of the parliaments of Toulouze and of Rouen, which were affectedly read at that instant, as well as a letter of the parliament of Brittany, whereby that company desired an union with that of Paris, against the violences of the mareschal de la Meilleraie. Mr. Talon spoke against the cardinal with a vehemence that had something of rage in it. He thundered against the mareschal de la Meilleraie, in behalf of the parliament of Rennes; but his conclusions went no further than to remonstrances against the return of the first, and to informations against the disorders committed by the mareschal d'Hocquincourt's forces. The heat evaporated in words, the clock struck twelve, and the deliberations was put off to the next day. It produced an arrest conformable to Mr. Talon's conclusions, with this addition only, made chiefly in view of the mareschal de la Meilleraie,

Meilleraie, that they should not proceed in the parliament to the reception of any dukes and peers, nor of marshals of France, till the cardinal was out of the kingdom.

An accident happened by mere chance in this sitting, which was looked upon as a mighty mystery. The marshal d'Estampes in delivering his opinion, having said without any design, that the parliament ought to unite with the duke for the expelling the common enemy, some counsellors supported this opinion, without meaning any hurt, and others were against it, moved to it merely by that spirit which, as I have somewhere told you, is opposed to all that is, or appears concerted in these sort of companies. The president de Novion, who was entirely reconciled with the court, took hold very artfully of this conjuncture to serve the queen; and judging very rightly that the person of the marshal d'Estampes, who was of the duke's family, gave him room to insinuate that there was a design, in what had been certainly spoken without any premeditation, he exclaimed with the president de Mesmes, against the word union, as against the thing in the world the most criminal. He enlarged in an eloquent manner upon the injury done to the parliament, in thinking that company capable of an union which would infallibly cause a civil war. The minds and hearts of most persons became of a sudden passionate for the royal authority. Clamorous speeches were made against the proposal of the poor marshal d'Estampes, which was rejected with horror, as if the like had not been proposed perhaps above fifty times by thirty counsellors within six weeks; as if the parliament had not returned thanks to the duke in all their sittings, for the obstacles he put to the cardinal's return; and, in short, as if the king's counsel themselves in their conclusions had not been in two or three different manners, for praying the duke to cause his troops to march for that effect. This is a confirmation of what I have already told you, that nothing is more like the people than these companies.

The duke of Orleans, who was present at that scene, was struck down with it, and it was that that determined him to join his forces to those of the prince. He had for a long time kept him in hopes that he would do it, both because he had not the courage to refuse them to the prince, and because Mr. de Beaufort, who was personally interested in the thing, being to command these forces, pressed him to the last degree about it. But the duke confessed to me that evening, that it was with a great deal of difficulty that he resolved upon it,
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but that finding nothing good to be hoped for from the parliament, which was like to undo itself and to undo all those that were joined to it; it was not fit to suffer the prince of Condé to be ruined; and he was very near proposing to me that I should come to an accommodation with him. He was however prevented from coming so far, either by reflecting on my engagements, that were not unknown to him; or because his fear of falling into the prince's dependency (and this was what appeared to me) worked stronger still upon him, than that which this disappointment of the parliament had put him into. You will see the sequel of this, after I have given you an account of what was passing at court at that time.

I have, I believe, already told you that Mr. de Chateauf-neuf had at last taken the resolution to speak plainly his mind to the queen, and to declare against cardinal Mazarin's return. This he did, in my opinion, without any hopes of success, and with the only view of gaining by it a merit with the public for his retreat, which he looked upon as unavoidable, being very willing to make at least the people believe that it was the consequence and the effect of the liberty with which he had opposed Mazarin's return. He asked leave to retire, which was granted him.

Cardinal Mazarin arrived at court, and I leave you to judge in what manner he was received there. He found there Mr. le Tellier, who had been already recalled by messieurs de Chateauf-neuf and de Villeroi, for a certain reason which was made a mystery of at that time, and the particulars of which I cannot remember. The cardinal determined the king to go towards Saumur, though a great many advised him to march into Guienne, to make an end of pushing the prince. He thought it best to begin with Mr. de Rohan, * who being governor of Angers, had, with the town and castle, declared for the prince. Angers being besieged by the marshals de la Meilleraie and d'Hocquincourt, held out but a very little time, and cost but few men. The Pont Sé, wherein Beauveau commanded for the prince, surrendered immediately, and almost without any resistance, to messieurs de Noailles and de Broglie. The king left Saumur, and

* *Henry Cbabot de St. Aulaire, duke de Rohan, peer of France, and governor of Anjou, who was much blamed by both parties for his behaviour at Angers.*

and went to Tours, where the archbishop of Rouen * laid the first foundation of the favour he was afterwards in, by complaining to the king, in the name of the bishops that were at court, of the arrests given in the parliament against cardinal Mazarin. Their majesties came afterwards to Blois, where Mr. Servien joined them. The mareschal d'Hocquincourt came near that town with his army, which committed incredible disorders for want of pay. We shall see what progress this army made, after I have given you an account of what was passing at Paris.

I am persuaded that I should tire you if I should enter into the detail of what was transacted in the assemblies of the chambers, from the 25th of January to the 15th of February. There was but one sitting, or two at most, that were employed wholly in giving out arrests for the restoring the funds that were appointed for the payment of the town-house rents, which the court, according to its laudable custom, withdrew one day to put things into confusion in Paris, and restored the next, for fear that that confusion should become too great. The most considerable thing that passed in the parliament at that time, was an arrest given by the grand chamber, upon the 8th of February, at the request of the attorney-general, whereby any person without exception was forbidden to levy any forces without the king's commission. I leave you to judge how well this could agree with seven or eight of their arrests which I have mentioned before.

Upon the 15th of February the parliament and the city received two lettres-de-cachet, wherein the king acquainted them with Mr. de Rohan's rebellion, and with the march of the Spanish forces led by Mr. de Nemours, of which the letters shewed the inconveniencies, exhorting them to be loyal to the king. After the letters were read, the duke spoke and represented that Mr. de Rohan had made himself master of the town and castle of Angers, only to execute the arrests of the company that ordered all governors of places to oppose the enterprizes of the cardinal; that Boisleur, lieutenant-governor of Angers, and a zealous partisan of Mazarin's, had formed a design upon that place, which Mr. de Rohan had been obliged to prevent, and even to secure that gentleman; that he could not conceive how the things that were transacting

* Francis Harlai de Chanvallon, archbishop of Rouen, and afterwards of Paris.

transacting daily in the parliament could be reconciled; that they had given in a full assembly of the chambers seven or eight arrests one upon another, which enjoined governors of provinces and of towns to declare against the cardinal; and that but two days ago the chamber of Tournelle, at the request of the bishop of Angers, brother to Boisfleur, had put out an arrest against the duke of Rohan, whose only guilt was the executing those given in a full assembly of the chambers; that the grand chamber had but a few days ago put out one to forbid the levying forces without the king's commission, than which nothing could be more contrary to the request made to him several times by the whole body of the parliament, praying him to employ all his forces for the expelling of the cardinal; that he thought himself likewise obliged to inform the company that all the arrests which they had put out, had not yet been sent, neither to the several precincts, nor to the other parliaments, as it had been ordered. The duke added, that Mr. d'Amville was come to him from the king, and had brought him carteblanche to oblige him to give his consent to the re-establishment of the cardinal; but that nothing in the world could ever bring him to it, or to disunite in opinion from the parliament, &c.

The presidents de Bailleul and de Novion maintained stoutly, that the arrests of the grand chamber, and of the chamber of Tournelle, of which the duke complained, were legal, the number of judges that are required for putting out arrests in these chambers being compleat. This reason, as impertinent as it will appear to you, considering the subject, satisfied most of the old counsellors, drowned in, or rather swallowed up by their forms of law. The young counsellors, inflamed by the duke, rose up and forced the president le Bailleul to put the thing to the vote. Mr. Talon, the advocate-general, avoided very artfully to give his conclusions upon the two arrests of the grand chamber and of the Tournelle, by turning his discourse, to the great satisfaction of the company, against the bishop of Avranches, a man odious both for his infamous life, and for his slavish attachment to the cardinal. This gave him an opportunity of making himself merry at the non-residence of bishops, against which he really obtained a cutting arrest; and his conclusions were, that all mayors and magistrates, as well as governors of towns, should be forbid to give passage to the Spanish forces, led by Mr. de Nemours.

It was at that instant that the duke executed what he had projected before, as I have already told you, and that he
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went even beyond what he had at first resolved. He maintained that he had taken these forces into his pay, and that they were not Spaniards. His speech, which he extended to a pretty great length, took up some time; the clock struck twelve, and the assembly was put off to the next day, which was the 16th. But there was no assembly on that day, the duke having sent in the morning to excuse himself upon pretence of a fit of the cholic. The true reason for this delay was this.

The last disappointment of the parliament had embarrassed the duke beyond what I am able to express; and I believe that in less than two days time, I had heard him repeat a hundred times the following words: 'It is a cruel thing to find one's self in a condition where it is impossible for one to act right. I had never considered of it before; but I experience it and feel it.' His agitation, which, like a fever, had fits, some less, some more violent, was never greater than on the day that he commanded Mr. de Beaufort, or rather gave him leave, to put his troops upon action. And as I was representing to him that after the many declarations which he had made both in the parliament and every where else against Mazarin, it appeared to me that the step of causing his troops to move against him was not so great an addition to the dislike which he had already given to the court, that he needed to apprehend it so much: he answered me these memorable words, on which I have reflected a thousand and a thousand times: 'If you was born a son of France, an infant of Spain, a king of Hungary, or a prince of Wales, you would not speak as you do. Know that we princes reckon words for nothing, but that we never forget actions. The queen would not remember to-morrow at noon my declaiming against the cardinal, if I would bear with him to-morrow morning. If my forces fire a single musket, she will not forgive it me these 2000 years, let me act never so well to please her.' The general conclusion which I drew from this discourse, was that the duke was persuaded that all princes had the like sentiments upon certain matters; and the particular one was, that the duke was not so much exasperated at the cardinal, as to reject all thoughts of being reconciled to him, in case of need. And yet a quarter of an hour after the pronouncing these sententious words, he appeared to me further than ever from it. For Mr. Damville coming into his library-room, where I was alone with him, and having pressed him very much in the queen's name, and by her order, to give him his word not to join his forces with those of Mr. de Nemours

Nemours that were advancing, the duke remained inflexible in his resolution, and spoke even upon that subject with a great deal of good sense, and with all the sentiments that a son of France, who finds himself forced by the circumstances of affairs, to an action of that nature may, and ought to preserve, at that unfortunate time. You have here an abstract of what he said. * That he was not ignorant that the part which he acted on this occasion was the most uneasy in the world, * considering that he could gain nothing by it, and that it took away from him before-hand all manner of quiet and satisfaction: that he was well enough known to give no room to suspect that what he did was the effect of ambition: * neither could it be attributed to hatred, to which passion he was known never to have been inclined against any one; * that he was forced into it by the mere necessity in which he had found himself, not to suffer the state to perish in the hands of a minister unable to govern, and abhorred by all the world: that he had indeed supported him during the siege of Paris, but that he did it against his conscience, and in regard only to the queen; that he had likewise sided with him, though with the same scruple of conscience, and out of the same regard, during the whole course of the civil war in Guienne: that his lamentable conduct there for a while, and the use which he would afterwards have made of the advantages, obtained by his (the duke's) means, against the duke himself, had forced him to think of his own safety, and that he confessed, though to his shame, that God had made use of that motive to oblige him to follow the way which his duty had been for so long pointing out to him: * that he had not followed that way in a factious manner, by cantoning himself upon the frontiers; and calling there upon foreign aid: that he had joined only with the parliaments, which are beyond comparison more interested than any one in the preservation of the state: that God had blessed his good intentions, chiefly in permitting the expulsion of that bad minister without the shedding of blood, or any other harm done: that the king had granted to the tears of his people that piece of justice, more necessary still for his service than for the satisfaction of his subjects; that all the corporate bodies of the kingdom, without excepting one, had expressed their joy by arrests, by thanksgivings, by bonfires, and other public rejoicings: that when we were upon the point of seeing union restored in the royal family, which would have repaired in a trice the advantages obtained over

us,

us, occasioned by our divisions, the evil genius of France had again brought this wicked minister upon the stage, to renew the confusion every where: that this was the most dangerous sort of confusion which we had as yet fallen into, because those who had the best intentions in the world, and the most remote from any private interest, were those that could the least remedy it: that in most other disorders which had hitherto befallen the state, people might have expected an end of them by satisfying at last the desire of those whose ambition had occasioned them, so that what had been for the most part the cause of the evil, had however proved most commonly a remedy to it: that our present symptom was of another nature; that we were fallen into it by a general commotion of the whole political body, which made it impracticable for any of the members to help their own private case, there being no other remedy left than the expelling the venom which had infected the whole body: that the parliaments were so far engaged in it, that supposing that he, jointly with the prince, should be willing to desist, they could not persuade the like to these companies: but that they were so far from desisting, and so much obliged for their own safety to pursue the expulsion, that they would both declare against the parliaments, if these bodies should happen to change.' 'Would you advise me, Brion,' said the duke of Orleans (for so he used to call the duke d'Amville, who bore that name when he was the duke of Orleans's first gentleman of the horse) 'would you advise me, after what has passed, to trust Mazarin's word? Would you advise the prince to do it? But supposing we could trust him, do you believe that the queen ought to hesitate to give us the satisfaction which all France, or rather all Europe, are asking her jointly with us? Nobody has a greater feeling than I of the deplorable condition which I see the kingdom in, and I cannot without trembling see the Spanish colours displayed, when I consider that they are upon the point of joining those of Condé, and those of Vallois. But is not the present case, in respect to me, one of those that has given rise, with a great deal of reason, to the saying, That necessity has no law? And can I dispense with following a way by which only I can defend myself and all my friends against the queen's wrath, and against the vengeance of her minister? He has the royal authority wholly in his hands, he is master of all the towns, he hath all the veteran troops at his disposal, he shoves the prince to the furthest part of the kingdom, he threatens the
' parliament

parliament of the capital city of the realm, he sues himself for the protection of Spain, and we know every particular of what he has promised as he came through the country of Liege, to Don Antonio Pimentel. What can I do in this conjuncture, or rather what is it I ought not to do, except I bring dishonour upon myself, and am willing to pass for the last, I do not say of princes, but of men? When I have suffered the prince to be crushed, when I have left the cardinal at liberty to subdue Guienne, when I see him at the gates of Paris with a victorious army; will people say the duke of Orleans is to be commended for having sacrificed his person, the parliament, and the city, to the revenge of Mazarin, rather than use the assistance of the enemies of the crown? Will they not rather say the duke of Orleans is a coward and a fool to entertain scruples, which even a capuchin would reject if he was as far engaged as the duke of Orleans is?

This is what his royal highness said to Mr. Damville, with that torrent of eloquence which was natural to him whenever he spoke without any preparation. I have forgot to tell you that this Don Antonio Pimentel was sent to the cardinal by Fuensaldagne, under pretence of convoying him, and that the cardinal gave him mighty hopes of an advantageous peace for his catholic majesty. Don Antonio has since told me that the cardinal had spoke these very words to him: *Grabugio so per voi*: I am making this bustle for your sake. I require for payment that you would do for the prince but half of what you are able to do; or that you would tell me at this instant what your demands for a peace are. France treats me in a manner which gives me leave to serve you without any scruple.

The duke, in all likelihood, had gone further in his discourse, if he had not been told, that the president de Bellievre was in the bedchamber waiting for him. He left me in his library-room with Mr. Damville, who took me to task in respect to my own concerns, with a force of argument worthy of the good sense of the house of Ventadour, to persuade me that I was obliged both by reason of the hatred which the prince bore to me, and by the engagements into which I was entered with the queen, to hinder the duke from joining his forces with those of Mr. de Nemours. This is exactly what I answered him, or rather what I dictated to him whilst he was writing it down in his table-book, that he might, at my request, shew it both the queen and the cardinal.

‘ I have

' I have promised to come to no accommodation with the
 ' prince ; I have declared that I could not abandon his royal
 ' highness, nor consequently forbear serving him in all that
 ' he should undertake for opposing the return of the cardinal.
 ' This is what I have told the queen in the presence of the
 ' duke ; this is what I have told the duke in the queen's pre-
 ' sence ; and this is what I have faithfully done all along.
 ' The count de Fiesque is every day assuring Mr. de Brissac,
 ' that the prince will give me *carte blanche*, whenever I
 ' please ; this I receive with all the respect which I owe the
 ' prince, but without making any answer to his offer. The
 ' duke commands me to give him my opinion of what he
 ' can do best, and to ground it upon his resolution of never
 ' consenting to the cardinal's return ; I believe that I am
 ' obliged in honour and in conscience to tell his royal highness
 ' that he will give the cardinal all the advantage, except he
 ' forms a body of troops considerable enough to oppose his,
 ' and to make a diversion of those with which he oppresses
 ' the prince of Condé. In short, I intreat you to tell the
 ' queen, that I do nothing but what I have always told her that
 ' I would do, and that she cannot have forgot what I have so
 ' often said to her. That there is not one man in the kingdom
 ' more sorry than I, to see things in a condition which not only
 ' gives leave to a subject, but even obliges him, to speak to his
 ' mistress in the manner I do.'

This gave me an occasion to acquaint Mr. Damville with
 what had formerly passed upon that subject, in the conversati-
 ons which I have had with the queen. He was touched with
 it, because he was well affected and devoted to the king's per-
 son ; and he was so much moved, chiefly at the effort, which
 I told him I had made to let the queen know that it was wholly
 in her power, to become absolute mistress of all our concerns,
 and of mine more than any other ; that that gentleman, out
 of affection to me, opened himself more than he had done, and
 said : ' This wretch (meaning the cardinal) is going to ruin all ;
 ' look to yourself, for he is bent upon hindering you from
 ' being a cardinal ; this is all I can say to you.' You will see
 by and by that I knew more upon that head than this gentle-
 man.

As we were discoursing, Mr. Damville and I, in this man-
 ner, the duke came back to us, and leaning upon the president
 de Bellievre, he acquainted Mr. Damville that the dutchess
 desired to speak with him : and sitting down after he was
 gone he said to me : ' I have informed Mr. de Bellievre of

' what

what I have told Mr. Damville in your presence ; but I
 must discover to you both a thing which it had been very im-
 proper for me to speak of to him. I am cruelly imbarressed ;
 for I perceive that the thing which I have maintained to him
 to be necessary, and which is so in effect, is however very
 bad, which I believe has never happened before in any other
 affair, except in this. I have been all night long reflecting
 on it ; I have recalled to my memory the whole intrigue of
 the league, the faction of the Huguenots, the movements of
 the prince of Orange, and I have found nothing in all of
 them so difficult as what I meet with at every hour, or ra-
 ther at every instant. At this he gathered up and enlarg-
 ed upon, all that you have seen hitherto scattered up and
 down these sheets upon this subject ; and I likewise answered
 him all that you may have observed there of my sentiments. It
 being impossible to fix a conversation that runs wholly on un-
 certainties, the duke instead of answering me, answered him-
 self : and what always happens in this case is, that he that does
 so, never perceives it, which makes the conversation go on with-
 out an end. I intreated the duke for that reason to give me
 leave to set down in writing my sentiments on the state of
 things. I told him that I required but one hour to do it.
 To tell you the truth, I was not sorry to find at all events an
 opportunity of having what I had spoken to him occasionally,
 confirmed to him by the president de Bellievre. The duke
 took me at my word ; he went into the gallery, where an in-
 finite number of persons were waiting for him, and I wrote
 upon the table in the library, what you are going to read, of
 which I have still the original.

I believe that the matter which is at present to be dis-
 cussed, is not what his royal highness might or ought hi-
 therto to have done ; and I am even persuaded that it is
 inconvenient in great affairs, to repeat past matters, except
 only with an intent to refresh one's memory, in respect to
 the relation they have to things to come. The duke has
 but four ways to follow, which are ; either to come to an
 accommodation with the queen, that is, with cardinal Ma-
 zarin ; or to unite intimately with the prince ; or to form a
 third party in the kingdom ; or to remain in the state in
 which he is at present, that is, to hold a little with all
 sides ; with the queen, by remaining united with the parlia-
 ment, who, at the same time that they are railing at the
 cardinal, preserve a regard for the king's authority, which
 breaks twice a day the prince's measures ; with the prince,

by

by joining his forces with those of Mr. de Nemours; with
 the parliament, by speaking against Mazarin, and not using
 at the same time the authority which his birth and the love
 that the people of Paris have for him, give him, for pushing
 on that company further than they have a mind to go.
 Of these four ways, the first, which is to come to an accommodation
 with the cardinal, has always been excluded
 from all his royal highness's deliberations, because the
 duke has always gone upon this supposition, that it was
 against both his dignity and his safety. The second, which
 is to unite wholly and intirely with the prince, has not been
 admitted neither by the duke, because he has been unwilling
 even to imagine that he could be capable of proposing to
 him (these were the words which the duke used) to divide
 from the parliament, and abandon himself by that means,
 both to the discretion of the prince, and to the wavering
 ways of Mr. de la Rochefoucaut. The third, which is
 to form a third party in the kingdom, has been rejected by
 his royal highness, both because it may be followed with
 consequences too dangerous for the state, and because it
 could succeed but by forcing the parliament to follow a
 conduct opposite to the manner and forms of that company,
 which cannot be done but by means still more opposite to
 the inclination and maxims of the duke. The fourth, which
 is that which his royal highness follows at present, is the
 very thing which causes his present trouble and unquietness,
 because by holding a little with the other ways, it has almost
 all the inconveniencies of each, and has, properly speaking,
 not one advantage of any of them. In obedience to his
 royal highness, I shall give my opinion upon these several
 ways. Though as to my private concerns I might find
 my advantage in the duke's reconciliation with the cardinal;
 and though on the other hand, I have declared myself
 so much against that minister, that my opinion upon any
 thing that relates to him, may, and even ought to be suspected;
 I do not hesitate to tell his royal highness, that he
 cannot without dishonouring himself, keep any medium
 upon that article, considering the disposition of all the parliaments,
 of all the towns, and of all the people; and
 that he can the less do it with any safety to himself, considering
 the present posture of affairs, the disposition of the
 prince of Condé, &c. The reasons which support that
 opinion are so obvious, that I need not explain them. I
 intreat his royal highness not to command me to tell him
 my

my thoughts on the second way, which is that of uniting entirely with the prince; and that for two reasons, of which the first is, that the private engagements which I am entered into, even with his own consent, with the queen upon that subject, are a sufficient reason for him to believe that I might be moved by my private interest in delivering my opinion. My second reason for not meddling in this matter is, that I am convinced that if his royal highness was resolved to separate from the parliament, the thing to be considered would not be in that case, whether he ought to unite with the prince, but what he ought to do to keep the prince submissive to him; and this submission from the prince to his royal highness is one of the chief reasons that has obliged me to propose to him a third party, upon which I must enlarge more than I have yet done, because it is necessary to speak of that third way, jointly with the fourth way, which is the holding a little on all sides. The prince has taken steps towards Spain, which can never agree, except by miracle, with the practice of the parliament; and he, or those of his party, are every day taking some towards the court, which agree still less with the present constitution of that body. His royal highness stands unmoved in his resolution of not dividing from it, which he would be obliged to do, should he unite intimately with a prince, who, on the one side, by his negotiations, or at least by those of his dependants, with Mazarin, keeps that company in a continual jealousy, and who, on the other side, by his public union with Spain, obliges them once or twice a day, to declare openly against him. It happens that at the same time that the duke, for the reasons which I have mentioned, cannot unite with the prince, he finds himself obliged however to prevent the prince's ruin, which would give the cardinal too much strength. Taking this for granted, there is no other choice left, but that of a third party, or that which his royal highness is following at this day. I think it therefore necessary, before I enter into the detail and explication of a third party, to examine the inconveniences and the advantages of the way which his royal highness now is in. The first advantage which I find in it, is its carrying with it an appearance of prudence, which is always advantageous, because prudence is a virtue on which the generality of mankind is less able to distinguish exactly, than in any other, what is real from what is only specious. The second is, that this way not being decisive, it leaves, or seems to leave, his royal highness always at liberty to make a new choice, whenever he meets with any thing that suits his

his conveniency. The third advantage is, that so long as his royal highness follows this way, he will not renounce his right of being a mediator, which he naturally has by his birth, and which alone may offer him an opportunity of retrieving with advantage, if he takes hold of it, all the disagreeable steps which he has already taken, or may for the future be obliged to take, in relation to the court. These, in my opinion, are the three sorts of advantages, which are to be found in the way which his royal highness is now following. Let us now examine the inconveniencies, which are so many that I can hardly distinguish them all. I will therefore stick only to that which is capital, because it embraces all the rest. His royal highness, by preserving a regard for the court, which, properly speaking, is the strengthening of Mazarin, with whom alone he refuses to be reconciled, offends the other parties enough in all appearance to cause the ruin, not only of his own, but of these other parties; and certainly he offends that of the prince to a degree that will oblige those of that party to come to an accommodation with the court, considering how specious a pretence his royal highness is giving the prince for that accommodation, by assisting every day at the deliberations of a company that condemn his taking up arms, and registers without any hesitation the declarations given against him. His royal highness sees the importance of this inconvenience, and feels the weight of it, more than any body else; but he believes, at least at certain instants, that the guaranty of the parliament, and of the city of Paris, is able at all events to guard and to secure him, which is the thing that I have all along taken the liberty to contest with him, with all the respect due to his high birth, because it is impossible but that the parliament by continuing to stick close to their forms, must fall to nothing at the end of a civil war, and that the city which his royal highness leaves, according to its usual course attached to the parliament, must run the same fortune with that company, because it must follow the same steps. These steps are properly what will, in spite of all France and even of all Europe, restore the cardinal as they have already brought him back into the kingdom. He hath lately passed through a great part of it with four or five thousand adventurers, notwithstanding the troops of his royal highness, which are considerable, and at least as good and as well trained up to war, as those which have brought this minister to Poitiers; notwithstanding that most of the parliaments have declared against him; notwithstanding that there is scarce any great town in the kingdom, on which the court

can

can reckon; notwithstanding that all the people are en-
 rag'd at him. This appears prodigious, and yet is not so
 at the bottom: for there is nothing more natural, considering
 that the parliament of Paris is contented with the arrests
 issued out from that company, which by forbidding all man-
 ner of levies, and the seizing on the king's money, favour
 much more the cardinal, than the declaring him cri-
 minal can hurt him; considering, that the great towns,
 whose natural motion is to follow that of the parliament, are
 acting exactly in the same manner that company does;
 considering, in short, that his royal highness's forces can
 only move by means, which in respect to his royal high-
 ness's regard for the parliament, have a very great affinity
 with the measures of that company, which daily declares
 against their moving. It appears to foreigners that his
 royal highness leads the parliament, because that company
 declaims as he does, against the cardinal. The truth is,
 that it is the parliament that leads his royal highness, be-
 cause those of that company are apprized that his royal high-
 ness makes but a very slender use of the means he has in hand
 to hurt the cardinal. The fear of displeasing that company
 is one of the causes that has hindered him from putting his
 troops in action, and from applying himself, as much as he
 had it in his power to do, to the levying new ones. The
 same politics will require of him to compensate the joining
 of these forces with Mr. de Nemours's army, with the com-
 pliance and even the approbation which his presence will
 give, to all the deliberations that will be taken, even with
 the greatest heat imaginable, against their march. In that
 manner he will offend the queen, he will exasperate the
 cardinal, and that, without satisfying the prince, or content-
 ing the Frondeurs. All these views will trouble him still
 more than any thing he has hitherto done, because the ob-
 jects which will occasion them, will magnify at each instant,
 and the catastrophe of the play will be the return of a man
 whose ruin is thought so easy, that his re-establishment
 cannot but appear extremely shameful. I have taken the
 liberty to propose to his royal highness a remedy to these in-
 conveniencies, which I shall again mention in this place,
 that I may not fail in any thing which he has commanded
 me to deduce. He has done me the honour to tell me sever-
 al times, that the greatest obstacle to his coming to a final
 resolution, which he owns to be necessary if it be possible, is
 that he cannot do it of himself without falling out with
 the parliament, because that company can never come to
 any

any such resolution, by reason of their being so much attached to their forms, and that they can much less do it in what relates to the prince than in any other thing, both for that reason, and for their just diffidence of the several cabals which not only compose, but which divide that party. These two views are certainly very judicious and very prudent, and it was from the like consideration that I had proposed to his royal highness a way which appeared to me to be almost a sure remedy to these two inconveniencies which are certainly very great and dangerous. That way was, that his royal highness should form a third party, composed of the parliaments and of the great cities of the kingdom; independent of, and even divided by public declarations, from foreigners and from the prince of Condé himself, by reason of his conjunction with them. The proper expedient in my opinion to bring this about, was that his royal highness should in a full assembly of the chambers explain his intentions clearly and fully, by saying to the company, that the regard which he had all along preserved for them, had obliged him to act contrary to his views, his safety, and his reputation; that he commended their good intentions, but that he desired them to consider that the ambiguity which it caused in their conduct, would destroy the good intentions with which the whole kingdom conspired against cardinal Mazarin. That that minister, who was an object of horror to all the people, laughed at their wrath with 4 or 5000 men only, who had carried him triumphantly to court, because the parliament was every day giving out arrests in his favour, at the time that the company railed against him the most bitterly; that his royal highness, in compliance to their body, had preserved some measures which had conduced to the like effects; that finding the evil to increase, he could delay no longer to seek out for remedies; that he met with enough, but that he was very glad to concert them with the company, whose members ought on their side to come to a good resolution, and to fix themselves once for all upon some effectual means of expelling Mazarin, having judged so many times his expulsion necessary for the service of his majesty; that the only means to come to that end, was to manage well the war, for which effect they must divest themselves of their scruples; that for his part, the only one which he intended to preserve for the future was in respect to the enemies of the state, with whom he declared that he would have neither union nor correspondence;

• spondence; that he looked upon these sentiments to be the
• less commendable in him, because he knew his own strength,
• and that he had no need of their aid; that from this con-
• sideration, but more still from that of the evil which a con-
• junction with a foreign enemy is always able to cause to the
• crown, he neither approved of, nor concurred in any thing
• that the prince had done in respect to that; but that, ex-
• cepting that article, he was resolved to do like him, and to
• observe no longer the measures which he had hitherto kept;
• he would raise both money and forces, he would put him-
• self at the head of affairs, he would seize upon the king's
• money, and would treat as enemies those that should oppose
• it in any form or manner whatsoever. I was of opinion
• that his royal highness might add, that the company was not
• ignorant that the people of Paris being so well affected to him
• as they were, it was easier for him to execute what he pro-
• posed than to speak it, but that the regard he had for them
• made him willing to acquaint them with his resolution, be-
• fore he carried it to the town-house, where he designed to de-
• clare his intentions that very afternoon, and to deliver
• commissions there at the same time. I entreat his royal
• highness to remember that when I proposed this way, I
• took the liberty to assure him upon my life, that this speech,
• joined to the circumstances which I proposed at the same time,
• which were to march to the parliament accompanied with
• a good number of nobility, gentry, clergymen and people,
• would receive no manner of contradiction. I remember
• that I went still further, and told his royal highness that the
• parliament, which would the first day come into this project
• only by surprize, would approve of it heartily the next. All
• companies are so made, and I have not seen one which in three
• or four days time would not naturally accustom themselves
• even to what they received at first only by constraint. I
• represented to his royal highness, that after having put his
• affairs upon that foot, he ought no longer to fear that the
• parliament should forsake him; neither could he any longer
• fear to be sacrificed to the court, by the negotiations of the
• several cabals of the prince, because those of the parliament,
• who were of the court party, would be too nearly and per-
• sonally interested with his royal highness, to suffer themselves
• to be penetrated into, and be made tools of; and because
• the prince himself would be so much in the dependance of
• his royal highness, that his chiefest care would be to have a
• special regard for him. For in my opinion there would
• have

' have been no manner of room to fear that the prince should
 ' have come to an accommodation with the court, had his
 ' royal highness followed that way, considering the state of
 ' things, the strength of his royal highness's party, the de-
 ' claration of the public, and the secret measures which his
 ' royal highness might have preserved with the prince. His
 ' royal highness knows better than any one whether he is not
 ' absolute master of the people of Paris, and whether, when
 ' he is pleased to speak peremptorily like a son of France, and
 ' like one who is, and who knows himself to be the head of
 ' a great party, there is one man in the parliament and in
 ' the town-house, that durst, I will not say resist, but con-
 ' tradict him. His royal highness will not without doubt
 ' have forgot that I had proposed to him at the same time
 ' some previous things to be done abroad, that were neither
 ' remote nor difficult: The rallying the broken remnants of
 ' my lord Montrois's troops, the taking into pay the disband-
 ' ed forces of Newburgh, the declaration of eight or ten of
 ' the largest cities in the kingdom. His royal highness hath
 ' not thought fit to hearken to this proposal, because he thinks
 ' that the consequences of it would be dangerous to the state.
 ' God grant that the way he is in proves not more dangerous,
 ' and that the confusion into which it will in all likelihood
 ' throw him, be not more to be feared than the party I have
 ' proposed, which at least would have a son of France at its
 ' head. I had in Paris 300 officers at my disposal, and the
 ' viscount de Lemet would have gathered up 2000 horse out
 ' of the disbanded forces of Newburgh. I was likewise as-
 ' sured of the towns of Limoges, Marville, Senlis, and
 ' Thoulouze.'

This is what I wrote upon the table in the library, in less
 than two hours time. I read it to the duke, in the presence
 of the president de Bellievre, who approved of it, and backed
 it with a much greater force than I had done myself. The
 contest grew warm, the duke maintaining, that without a
 clutter of this nature, (for so he called it) he would hinder
 the parliament from declaring against the march of Mr. de
 Nemours's troops, which was the thing he feared most, being
 upon the point of joining his own to them. You will find
 that he was not mistaken as to that, as I had myself been,
 and as I was no less in another point; for I maintained all
 along to the duke, jointly with the president de Bellievre,
 who was of my opinion, that it would not be in his power to
 hinder the parliament from proceeding to the execution of the

declaration against the prince, though that company had put out an arrest whereby they engaged not to do it, till the cardinal was expelled the kingdom; for the court found so little room for that execution, on the side of the parliament, that the ministers durst not so much as propose it.

These successes contributed much to the undoing of the duke, for they lulled him asleep, and prevented his taking care of his own safety. I will go on upon these particulars, after I have given you an account of what passed in this conversation, in respect to my promotion to the cardinalship, which happened just at this time.

The duke, who was the man in the world the farthest from believing that it was possible to speak without some interested view, told me, in the heat of our contest, that he could not conceive what interest I could find in a proposal, which, by breaking all manner of measures with the court, would certainly cause my nomination to be revoked. I answered him, that I was by this time a cardinal, or that I was not like to be one for a great while: but that I begged of him to be persuaded, that supposing that my promotion depended upon that instant, I would in nowise change my sentiments; because what I had proposed was for his service, without any relation to my interest: 'And I beg only, sir, added I, in order to convince you fully of this truth, that you would be pleased to remember, that the very day on which the queen granted my nomination, I declared to her majesty, that I would never quit your service, but would advise you in the manner which I thought the most tending to your honour. I think that I am at this time acquitting myself faithfully of that engagement; and to convince you of it, I most humbly intreat your royal highness to send to the queen the memorial which I just now wrote.'

The duke was ashamed of what he had said to me. He treated me with all the civility possible. He threw my memorial into the fire, and he left the library as obstinate (said the president de Bellievre to me, softly) as he was when he came in.

I was telling you, that I had told the duke that I was by this time a cardinal, or was not like to be one for a long while. I was but very little mistaken, for I was made one five or six days after. I received the news of it upon the last of February, by an express which the great duke of Tuscany sent to me. I will tell you how that matter past at Rome, after I have made you some excuses for having tired you so much, as without doubt I have done, both with the length of
of

of this last memorial, and with that of the duke's discourse to Mr. Damville, which are both full of a thousand circumstances that you have already seen dispersed in several places of these memoirs. But most of these circumstances having given birth to that body, monstrous in its form, and almost unconceivable, even in that sort of historical writing that may be called marvellous; a body of which the members seem to have had no manner of motion that was natural to them, having acted in a manner even opposite to one another; I have thought it even a piece of good luck to have met in the course of this narration with a subject that has obliged me to gather them all together, that you may with greater ease perceive at once these circumstances, which being only dispersed in several places, darken the truth of history by apparent contradictions, which nothing can reconcile but the setting in one view together the several arguments and matters of fact. I return to my promotion.

You have seen, in the second volume of these memoirs, that I had sent to Rome the abbot Charrier, who found the face of that court altogether changed, by the retreat, rather than the disgrace of the signora Olimpia, * sister-in-law to pope Innocent, † who had been forced to take some notice of a kind of reprimand which the emperor, at the instigation of the Jesuits, had caused the nuntio at Vienna to make in his name to his holiness upon that account. He had ceased to see the signora, and he allayed the cruel vexation, which it was always thought that that had caused him, with pretty frequent conversations with the princess de Rossane, ‡ his nephew's

* *Donna Olimpia Maldachini, wife to signor Pamphilio, brother to pope Innocent the Tenth, whom she governed at pleasure during his papacy. The complaints and the railleries which were made against the pope on that occasion, obliged him to remove that lady. Amongst other satirical pieces, a medal was struck, wherein signora Olimpia was represented in all the pontifical habits, and the pope spinning at a distaff. Signor Olimpia died of the plague at Orvietto in 1656.*

† *John Baptist Pamfilio, elected pope in 1643, in the room of Urban the Eighth, to the great dissatisfaction of cardinal Mazarin, and deceased in 1655.*

‡ *Wife to the prince Camillo, nephew to the pope. This lady, the signora Olimpia, and the princesses Ludovisi and Giustiniani, who were constantly at the Vatican, gave occasion to Pasquin to say to Marforio, 'se tu vuoi fare il Ruffiano, troverai donne al Vaticano.'*

nephew's wife, who, tho' very witty, came not nigh the genius of the signora, but who, in recompence, was much younger and handsomer. She acquired in effect an influence over the pope's mind, and so great that the signora Olimpia conceived a cruel jealousy at it, which having set an edge to her wit, already very sharp and active, made her at last find out the means of ruining her daughter-in-law with the pope, and of regaining her former credit with him. My nomination fell out just at the time that the princess of Rossane was in her greatest favour, and it appeared on this occasion that fortune would repair the loss I had made in the person of Panzirolo. It was on this only occasion that I ever found it favourable, I have told you, in another place, the reasons I had to believe, that the princess of Rossane would favour my pretensions, and that much more than the signora Olimpia, who did nothing but by the help of money, and you will easily judge that it had been pretty difficult to persuade me to part with money for the buying of a hat. The abbot Charrier found at Rome all that I had expected from the princess of Rossane, and the first advice she gave him, was to distrust to the last degree our ambassador, who, to the secret orders which the court had given him against me, joined the immoderate passion which he himself had for the hat. The abbot Charrier made an excellent use of this advice, for he amused the ambassador all along by appearing to put an intire confidence in him, and at the same time by shewing my promotion as a thing very remote. The hatred which the pope had preserved for a long time against cardinal Mazarin's person, gave a colour to Charrier's deceit; and the interest of monsignor Chigi, secretary of state, who has since been Alexander the Seventh, concurred likewise very effectually to it. Chigi was sure of the hat at the first promotion, which made him hasten it as much as he could. Monsignor Azolini, who was secretary of the briefs, and who had been attached to Panzirolo, had inherited from him a great contempt for Mazarin, and a great deal of good will for me. All this served to deceive the Bailli de Vallancey our ambassador, who had not so much as the least notice of my promotion, till after it was over. Pope Innocent hath since told me, that he knew for certain, that Vallancey had in his pocket the king's letter for the revoking my nomination, with an order however not to deliver it but in case of necessity, and at the opening of the consistory in which the cardinals were to be declared; and the abbot Charrier had sent me two expresses with the same advice. What is certain, and what I have

have since learnt from Champfleury, captain of the guards to cardinal Mazarin, is, that as soon as his eminence had the news of my promotion, which he received at Saumur, he ordered him to go to the queen in all haste, and to intreat her in his name that she would dissemble and appear joyful at it.

I cannot help discovering in this place, for the sake of truth, my own imprudence, which had like to have made me lose the hat. I fancied to myself, and that very wrongfully, that it was against the dignity of the post I was in to stay so long for it; and that this delay of three or four months, which they were obliged to make at Rome for the regulating a promotion of sixteen cardinals, went against the promises which I had received from thence, and the manner in which I had been courted to stand for a candidate. I grew angry, and I wrote a letter to the abbot Charrier, which I ordered him to make public, and which was writ in a tone neither prudent nor decent. It was the most tolerable piece for stile of any I ever wrote. I have looked for it to insert it here, but could not find it. The prudence of the Abbot, who suppressed it at Rome, gained me by the event some reputation with those that had seen it in France, who thought that I owed my promotion to it; any thing high and bold being always magnified when it is crowned with success. This did not prevent my being heartily ashamed of it, in which sentiment I still continue; and I fancy that I am in some manner making amends for the fault by publishing it. I return to my narration.

I had carried it, as I remember, to the 16th of February, 1652. There was an assembly of the Chambers on the 17th, in which you will see at once, as in a kind of an abridgment, which is more than sufficient in my opinion, all that passed in the assemblies from that day to the first of April, though they were held pretty frequently. The duke opened the sitting, by representing to the company that the *lettre-de-cachet*, that had been read there upon the 15th, whereby he was taxed with favouring the entrance of the enemies into the kingdom, could proceed from no other cause than the calumny he was aspersed with, and to which the queen was willing to lend an ear; that the troops which Mr. de Nemours led were Germans, and consequently could not be called enemies. This was, properly speaking, the only subject which employed these assemblies. The president le Bailleul, who was at the head of them, began commonly to enlarge upon the necessity of deliberating on his majesty's *lettre-de-cachet*: the conclusions

clusions of the king's counsel were all along for commanding the commons to oppose Mr. de Nemours's march : and the duke continued constantly to maintain, that the troops which he commanded were not Spanish, and that after the declaration which he made, that as soon as the cardinal was expelled the kingdom, they would enter into the king's pay, it was altogether superfluous to deliberate upon that subject. This contest was renewed every day, and even more than once in a fitting ; and it is certain, as I have said before, that the duke shifted it off all along. But it is not less certain, that he was amused by this pretended advantage, which he was so well pleased to have obtained, when we had been of a contrary opinion, that he would not so much as consider whether what he had obtained was sufficient ; that is, that he would not enough distinguish between the parliament's conniving at, or declaring for, a thing. * - - - - -

Except the contests which I have given you an account of, and in which there were all along some of the contradictions which I have so often mentioned, nothing passed in these assemblies of the chambers worthy, in my opinion, of your curiosity. In some of them there were read the answers which most of the parliaments of France made at that time to that of Paris, which were all of them conformable to its intentions, in acquainting it with the arrests which they had put out against Mazarin. The other assemblies were employed in providing for the preservation of the funds appointed for the payment of the town-house annuities, and of the officers salaries. It was resolved in the assembly of the 13th of March, to meet upon that subject in the chamber of St. Lewis, with the other sovereign courts. I was present at no assembly from the first of March, both because the ceremonial of Rome does not suffer cardinals to be present at any public assemblies, till they have received the cap ; and because that dignity giving no rank in the parliament, except when cardinals accompany the king thither, the place that I could have in his absence being only that of coadjutor, which is below that of the dukes and peers, had not well agreed with the pre-eminence of the purple.

I must confess that I was extremely glad to have a pretence, and even a reason to go no longer to these assemblies, which
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* *The French copy begins in this place a new period, but it being interrupted by a chasm which makes the sense imperfect, I have left it out.*

in truth were become not only tedious, but insupportable. You will see that the assemblies which followed these, were pretty much of the like nature; but before I speak of them, I must touch as lightly as I can upon some particulars that relate to Paris, and say likewise something in general in relation to Guienne.

You may remember what I have said of Mr. de Chavigny in the second volume of these memoirs, and that I have told you that he retired into Touraine a little after the king was come of age. He found not the secret there of making himself easy, but on the contrary he grew weary to a point, that he came back to Paris upon the first pretence that was offered him. That pretence was grounded upon the advice sent him by Mr. de Gaucourt, which made it necessary for him, as he said, to prevent the cabals I was forming near the duke against the interest of the prince. Mr. de Gaucourt was a gentleman of a very noble family, being descended from the ancient and powerful counts of Clermont in Beauvoisis, so famous in our history. He had wit and industry, but he had too much assumed the character of a negotiator, which is not the best qualification required in negotiations. He was attached to the prince, and was his chief correspondent at Paris. His principal care, at least as it appeared to me, was to ruin my credit with the duke; but finding it no easy matter, he had recourse to Mr. de Chavigny, who came back to Paris with all haste, either for that reason, or taking that for his pretence. Mr. de Rohan, who arrived at that time, very well pleased with the manner in which he had defended Angers, though he had done it but very poorly, joined himself against me with the two others. They attacked me in form as a secret favourer of Mazarin, and whilst their emissaries were working upon such of the mob as might be won with money, they omitted nothing to move the duke by their calumnies, which were supported with all the cunning learnt at court, in which art Ravai, Beloi, and Goulas, belonging to the duke, but partisans of the prince, were not ignorant. I experienced, in this occasion, that the most refined courtiers may be easily deceived, when they rely too much on their conjectures. Those which these gentlemen made upon my promotion were, that I had obtained the hat by means only of the engagement which I was entered into with the court. This was the ground on which they went; they reviled me with the duke upon that account. His royal highness, who knew the whole truth, made a jest of it. Instead of ruining me, they established

me with him ; because in respect to calumny, all that does not hurt the person calumniated, is advantageous to him ; as in this case, where you see that these gentlemen fell themselves into the trap which they had prepared for me. I was one day saying to the duke that I could not conceive how he did not grow weary of all the impertinencies which were so often repeated to him against me : his answer was : ‘ Do you count
‘ for nothing the pleasure one has of discovering every morn-
‘ ing people’s wickedness hid under the name of zeal ; and
‘ every evening their impertinence under the disguise of pene-
‘ tration ? ’ I told the duke, that I received with respect that saying of his, which I looked upon to be a good lesson for all those who had the honour to approach great princes.

What the prince’s partisans were working with the people against me, had like to have cost me dearer. They had some hired persons, whose bawling incommoded me more at that time than when I went abroad accompanied by a great number of gentlemen, and of servants, before whom they durst not appear. For, as I had not yet the cap, which the French cardinals receive only from the king, to whom the pope dispatches an express for that purpose, I could now go abroad only incognito, according to the rules of the ceremonial ; so that when I went to his royal highness, it was always in a plain coach without any liveries ; and I even went into the library by the little stair-case that is next the gallery, that I might avoid the great stair-case, and the great apartment. One day that I was there with the duke, Bruneau came in, all in a fright, to inform me that there were in the court two or three hundred of these bawlers, who said that I betrayed his royal highness, and that they would kill me.

The duke appeared struck down at this news. I observed it, and the example of the mareschal de Clermont, killed in the arms of the dauphin, whose fright could at most but equal that which I saw the duke, in coming to my remembrance, I took a resolution, which I thought to be the safest, though it appeared the most hazardous ; because I made no doubt but that the least appearance of fright in his royal highness would occasion my being murdered ; and because I still made less doubt, that the apprehension of displeasing those that were bawling against Mazarin, whose murmurings he dreaded to a degree that was ridiculous, not to mention his temper, that made him start at the least thing, would create in him a much greater fright than was needful for my undoing. I intreated him to let me do as I would, and that he would immediately

mediately see what contempt one ought to have for these mercenary rascals, that were paid for doing what they did. He offered me his guards, but after a manner that made me judge that my refusing of them would be very acceptable. I went down, though the mareschal d'Etampes had thrown himself down upon his knees to prevent my going; I went down, I say, with only Chateau-Renaut and d'Hagueville, and going directly to that troop of seditious mob, I asked them who was their chief? One of their crew, who had an old yellow feather in his hat, answered me insolently, 'Tis I.' I then turned to the gate that leads into the Rue de Tournon, and calling to the guards, I bid them hang that rascal at the iron rails. At this the rogue making me a low bow, told me, that he had no thought of doing any thing against the respect which he owed me; that he came with his comrades, only to tell me that there was a report of my carrying his royal highness to court, and of reconciling him there with Mazarin; but that they were far from believing it: that they were my humble servants, and ready to die for my service, if I would promise them to be always a good Frondeur. They offered to accompany me (but I did not want their convoy) to the place where I was going, which was not far off. It was to madam de la Vergne's, who had married for her second husband the chevalier de Sevigné, and who lived at the same house where madam de la Fayette her daughter lives now. This madam de la Vergne was at the bottom an honest woman, but covetous to the last degree, and more susceptible of vanity for her managing all manner of intrigues, without exception, than any woman I have ever known. That which I proposed at that time to her, and for which I wanted her service, was of a nature to startle a prude at first. I seasoned however my discourse with so many protestations of having nothing dishonest or uncivil in my thoughts, that what I proposed was not rejected; it is true, that she would not harken to it but upon my promising her most solemnly, that I would never require any thing of her that should extend beyond what she could do in conscience towards procuring a good, chaste, innocent, and holy friendship. I promised whatever was required of me; my word was relied upon, and madam de la Vergne was even well pleased with herself to have met with an occasion, very likely to break in time my commerce with madam de Pomereux, which was not thought so innocent. That into which I was to enter was, to be altogether spiritual and angelical; for it was to be
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with mademoiselle de la Loupe, * whom you have known since under the name of madam d'Olonne. She had pleased me very much at a little assembly, which had met some days before in the dutchess of Orleans's closet. She was handsome, and had besides a reserved and modest air. She lodged just by madam de la Vergne, and was such an intimate friend of her daughter's, that she had a door made in a wall to come to her the more easily. The attachment which the chevalier de Seigne had for me, my going frequently to his house, and what I knew of his wife, contributed much to my hopes. But these hopes proved vain by the event; for though I had not my eyes pulled out, though I was not stifled for want of leave to vent my sighs, though I could perceive by certain airs that the lady was not displeased to see a prince of the church submit to her charms; the lady preserved all along a severity, or rather a modesty, which kept my tongue tied, though it used to give itself liberty enough; which will appear surprising to those who have not known mademoiselle de la Loupe, and have only heard talk of madam d'Olonne. This story, as you see, is not much to the advantage of my gallantry. I pass for a moment to what was doing in Guienne.

As I pretend only to give you a precise account of what I have myself seen, I will touch but very lightly on the affairs of that province, and no further than it is necessary for your understanding better what happened there that had any relation to the affairs at Paris. I am even in doubt whether the little I intend to say will be very just, having it only from accounts, the exactness of which I dare not warrant. I have done all I could to get from the prince of Condé the particulars of his actions that related to the war, the least of which have always been greater than the most heroic ones of other men; and it would be a very great pleasure to me to have it in my power to adorn and honour these memoirs with them. He had promised to give me an abstract of them, and I believe that he would have done it, if his aversion for relating his own wonders, and the trouble it would have put him to, were not as great as his inclination and ability for performing them.

I have told you that the count d'Harcourt commanded the king's armies in Guienne, and that his troops were the best disciplined of any in Europe. The prince's forces were all new levies,

* Who married the count d'Olonne, and became famous for her gallantries, of which the count de Buffi Rabutin speaks so much in his *Histoires Amoureuse de Gaules*.

levies, except what Mr. de Marfin had brought from Catalonia, which did not make up a body considerable enough to oppose those of the king. The prince, properly speaking, maintained his affairs merely by his own presence. You have already seen how he had seized upon Saintes. He left the prince of Tarente to command there, and returning himself into Guienne, he encamped his forces near Bourg. The count d'Harcourt followed him, and he detached the chevalier d'Aubeterre to reconnoitre his camp. That chevalier was repulsed by the regiment of Baltazar, which gave the prince time to post himself upon a rising ground, where he made his body of troops appear so great, which was in effect but very little, that the count d'Harcourt durst not attack him. The prince retired to Libourne after this action, which was that of a very great general. He left some foot there, and he went to Bergerac, a place famous during the wars about religion, and he caused its fortifications to be raised up again. Mr. de St. Luc, lord lieutenant of Guienne, thought that he might surprize the prince of Conti, who was lodged with some new-raised troops at Caude-Coste, near Agen, which made Mr. de St. Luc advance that way, with 2000 foot and 700 horse, of the best that were in the king's army. He was himself surprized by the prince of Condé, who was informed of his design, and the prince attacked him in the midst of his quarters, before he had had any news of the prince's march. He stood firm however, and posted himself on a rising ground, where he could not be come at but by a narrow pass. Almost the whole day was spent in skirmishing, whilst the prince was expecting three cannons, which he had sent for to Agen. He had great need of them, for he had in all with him, including the troops of the prince of Conti, but 500 foot and 2000 horse, all new-raised forces. A weak condition does not commonly inspire boldness, but that of the prince Condé went further on this occasion, for it inspired him with a piece of vanity, which is, I believe, the only time he ever gave way to that passion. It came into his thoughts, that if the enemy knew that he was there in person, it might frighten them so as to put them into disorder. He therefore sent some prisoners back, who failed not to acquaint their own troops with it, and the prince charging them at the same time, they immediately gave ground; and it may be said that they were defeated, rather by the terror of his name, than by the shock of his arms. Most of their infantry threw themselves into Miradoux, where they were immediately besieged.
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The regiments of Champaign and of Lorrain, whom the prince would receive but at discretion, defended that sorry place with incredible valour, and gave the count d'Harcourt time to come to their aid. The prince sent back his artillery and baggage to Agen: he put garrisons into some small places that might incommode the enemy; and in the evening he came himself to Agen, having with him messieurs de la Rochefoucaut, de Marcin, and de Montespan, in order to observe the designs of the count d'Harcourt, who on his side left some troops to besiege, if I am not mistaken, Stafford, and la Plume; and with the rest caused some fortifications that messieurs de Lislebonne, the chevalier de Crequi, and Coudrai Montpensier, had begun at one of the suburbs of Agen, to be attacked. The gentlemen, whom I have last named, signalized themselves in this attack, which was made in the presence of the prince. The enemies were repulsed with an extraordinary vigour, and the count d'Harcourt, to comfort himself for his loss, went and took the two small places which I have mentioned.

The prince of Condé, who had formed the design of returning to Paris, for the reasons which you shall presently see, resolved to leave the prince of Conti, his brother, to command in Guienne, with Mr. de Marcin for lieutenant-general under him; but he thought it necessary, before he left that province, to secure entirely the town of Agen, which had indeed declared for him, but having no garrison, might change its side at every instant. He prevailed with the jurates, who consented to suffer the regiment of Conti to be received into the town; but the inhabitants not being of the same mind with their magistrates, rose up in arms and set up barricadoes. The prince has been heard to say, that he ran a greater risk on this occasion, than he would have done in a battle. I have forgot the particulars, and all that I remember is, that messieurs de la Rochefoucaut, de Marillac, and de Montespan, made speeches in the town-house, and appeased the sedition to the satisfaction of the prince, of whose journey to Paris I am now to speak.

Messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and de Gaucourt, were every day pressing him by letters not to mind so entirely the affairs of the provinces, as to neglect those of Paris, which, as it was the capital city, were in every respect to be chiefly looked after. These were Mr. de Rohan's words, in a letter of his which I surpris'd. These gentlemen were persuaded that I broke all their measures with the duke, who indeed, when

when there was any thing which he would not do for the service of the prince, excused himself upon the regard which my post at Paris obliged him to have for me. His royal highness has sometimes confessed to me, that he made use of that excuse on some occasions; and, it is certain, that upon others, he even forced me, by his persecuting me, to give some appearances which might confirm what the duke would persuade to these gentlemen. I represented several times to him that he would carry matters to a point that would oblige the prince to come to Paris, which was the thing in the world that he feared most. But weak persons being always moved by present objects, more beyond comparison than by absent ones, though never so near, he chose rather to believe, that it would be long before the prince could undertake that journey, than to deprive himself of the present ease he found in charging me as the cause of the murmurs and complaints which the prince's ministers were making him at each instant on a thousand things. But these gentlemen finding themselves more fatigued than satisfied with the duke's shifts, earnestly pressed the prince, to come with all possible haste to their assistance; and their instances received a mighty support from the news which the prince had at that same time from Mr. de Nemours, the particulars of which it is necessary for me to touch upon.

Mr. de Nemours entered into France at that time without any resistance, all the king's forces being divided; and though Mr. d'Elbeuf and messieurs d'Aumont, d'Igby, and de Vaubecourt, had forces spread up and down, he penetrated as far as Mantes, and passed the Seine upon the bridge there by the leave of the duke de Lude, governor of that town, who was discontented with the court, because the seals had been taken from his father-in-law. He encamped his forces at Houdan, and came himself to Paris with Mr. de Tavannes, who commanded such of the prince's troops as he had been able to keep together, and with Clinchant, who was a general officer in Mr. de Nemours's army.

This was the first false step that they took; for if that army had marched without resting, and if Mr. de Beaufort had joined it with the duke's forces, as he did since, they might have passed the Loire without any difficulty, and had very much embarrassed the king's march. Every thing contributed to this delay, the uncertainty of the duke, who could not determine himself upon doing even what had been most firmly resolved upon; Mr. de Beaufort's love for madam de Montbazon,

Montbazon, which detained him at Paris; the childishness of Mr. de Nemours, who was glad to shew to madam de Châtillons his general's staff; and the false policy of Chavigny, who thought that he would be much more master of the duke by dazzling his eyes with the sight of so many regimental scarfs all different one from another. This was what he told Croissi, who was imprudent enough to impart it to me, though he was much more in the prince's interest than in mine. I did not keep the thing hid from the duke, who was very much piqued at it. I took that time to entreat him to suffer that I should convince these gentlemen in his presence, that it was foolish in them to pretend to dazzle any one's eyes, though weaker beyond comparison in every respect than those of his royal highness. As he was about to make me explain myself, he was informed that messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours were waiting for him in his chamber. I went thither along with him, though against my rule, because I had not yet the cap; and the conversation being become public (for there was company even to a crowd) I put my hat on as soon as he had his on his head. His royal highness observed it, by reason both of what I had just then said to him, and because I had always refused to do it, though he never failed to command it me. He was very glad of it, and he affected to keep up the conversation for a full hour, after which he took me in private, and brought me back into the gallery. You may well think that he was angry, for I believe there were in his chamber above fifty red scarfs, besides the Isabella ones. His anger lasted all that evening, for he told me the next day, that Goulas, his secretary, and an intimate friend of Chavigny's, being come to tell him, with great eagerness, that all the foreign officers grew mighty jealous of the long conversations that I had with him, he had rebuked him very sharply: saying to him, 'Go to the devil, you and your foreign officers; if they were as good Frondeurs as the cardinal de Retz, they would be at their posts, and would not spend their time in the taverns of Paris.' They at last rejoined the army, more certainly by my instances, than by those of Chavigny, who believed all along that I made it my business to retard them. For the duke soon took care to repair what he had let slip unawares whilst he was angry; because it was convenient for him (or at least he fancied so) to make use of me sometimes as a pretence to what he did, and almost always to what he did not. I shall tell you which way,

way the troops took their march, after I have given you an account of what happened at Orleans at this time.

It was natural that this important city should be much in the dependance of the duke, being his apennage, and the duke having made it his most ordinary place of residence; the marquis de Sourdis besides (who was governor of it) being in his interest. The duke had however taken care to send thither the count de Fiesque, to oppose the efforts of Mr. le Gras, master of requests, who did his best to persuade the inhabitants to open the city gates to the king, to whom that place had certainly been very useful. Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours, who saw best what consequence it was of, because having taken their march that way, they were nearer at hand to make their observations, wrote word to the duke that there was in the town a powerful faction for the court, which made his presence there extremely necessary. But you may well judge that it was still much more necessary at Paris. The duke therefore chose, without any hesitation, to stay there, which he was advised to do by every one without exception. * Mademoiselle offered to go herself to Orleans, which the duke consented to, but very unwillingly, both because he thought it against decency, but much more because he relied but little upon her conduct. I remember, that the day that princess took leave of her father, he said to me: 'This knight errantry would be very ridiculous, if the good sense of madam de Fiesque, and of madam de Fratenac, were not a support to it.' These two ladies went with the princess, and with them Mr. de Rohan, and messieurs de Croissi and de Bermont, counsellors of the parliament of Paris. Patru said a little too freely, that as the walls of Jericho fell at the sound of trumpets, so would the gates of Orleans open themselves at the noise of fiddles. This was a rub upon Mr. de Rohan, who was said to be a little too fond of them. However all this ridicule succeeded at last by the courage of mademoiselle, which certainly was very great; for though the king was very near with some troops, and that Mr. Molê, lord-keeper and first president, was at the gate, requiring entrance in the king's name, that princess passed the river in a small boat; she obliged the watermen, who are always in great number upon the key, to break open a postern gate, that had stood walled up for a long time; and she marched with the concourse and the acclamations of people directly to the town-house, where the magistrates were assembled.

* *The duke of Orleans's daughter.*

assembled to deliberate whether they should let the lord-keeper in. You may imagine that the princess had the casting vote. Messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours came immediately to her, and they resolved jointly with her to seize either upon Loris or Gien, which are but small towns, but which have bridges over the river Loire. That of Gien was vigorously attacked by Mr. de Beaufort, but was still more vigorously defended by Mr. de Turenne, who had just taken upon him the command of the king's army, having however the mareschal d'Hocquincourt for partner. The duke's army was obliged to quit this enterprize, having lost in it baron de Sirot, a gentleman of reputation, and who served there as lieutenant-general. That gentleman boasted, and I believe it was true, that he had exchanged pistol-shots both with the great Gustavus king of Sweden, and with the brave Christian king of Denmark. *

Mr. de Nemours, who had a natural aversion and contempt for Mr. de Beaufort, though they were brothers-in-law, complained of his conduct to mademoiselle, as if he had been the cause that the design upon Gien had not succeeded. They had some words upon that account in mademoiselle's anti-chamber. Mr. de Beaufort, who pretended, upon very slight grounds, at least as it was said at that time, that the other had given him the lie; returned Mr. de Nemours a box on the ear, as Mr. de Nemours pretended: for I have heard persons that were present say, that he received it only in imagination. It was at least as doubtful as those which Mr. Pascal ridicules in his letters against the Jesuits. Mademoiselle made up the matter, at least outwardly; and after a great contest, which had been no small occasion of beginning the quarrel, it was resolved that they should go to Montargis, an important post in the present conjuncture, because that by that means the army of the princes, being betwixt Paris and the king, would be in a condition to countenance every thing. Mr. Nemours, who passionately wished to succour Mouron, was of opinion, that it would be better to pass the Loire at Blois, that they might be behind the king's army, to whom the fear of abandoning too much the provinces beyond the Loire to the discretion of the army of the princes, would make it still more difficult

* See Mr. le Vassor's History of Lewis XIII. who says, that both the kings were so taken with his bravery, that they desired to be acquainted with a gentleman whose courage and virtue they so much esteemed.

difficult to resolve upon advancing towards Paris, than it would be by the obstacle that Montargis would be to it. The other opinion was carried in the council of war, both by number and by the authority of mademoiselle; and I have heard gentlemen that understood these matters say, that the reason of the thing ought likewise to have carried it, because it would have been ridiculous to abandon all the places near Paris to the king's forces, whose only design, as it was clearly perceived, was to approach that capital, either to win it, or to frighten it. Chavigny spoke to the duke very much in favour of the opinion that carried it, as the dutchess, who was present, told me the next day; and I cannot comprehend what ground people could have to imagine that there was any contest about it at the duke's palace. His royal highness, in that case, had not failed to extol to me his resisting the advice of those that were attached to the prince. But every one was of the like opinion; and Goulas railed openly at the conduct of Mr. de Nemours, who will, said he, lose Paris for the saving of Mouron. I return to the prince of Condé's journey to Paris.

I have already told you that those who managed his interests with the duke, pressed his coming back to that place, and that their instances were strongly supported by the necessity he thought there was of helping, or rather repairing, by his presence, the harm in which the incapacity and misunderstanding of messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours did, in lessening the weight which the valour and experience of the troops under their command ought to have given their party. The prince having almost the whole kingdom to cross, found it necessary to keep his march extremely secret. He only took along with him messieurs de la Rochefoucault, de Marillac, de Levi, Guitaut, Chavagnac, Gourville, and another whose name I don't remember. He passed with an extreme diligence through the provinces of Perigord, Limousin, Auvergne, and Bourbonnois. He narrowly escaped being taken near Châtillon sur Loire, by St. Maure, a pensionary of the cardinal's, who followed him with 200 horse, upon advice given to the court by somebody who knew Guitaut. The prince met in the forest of Orleans with some officers of his troops who were in garrison at Loris, and he was received by the whole army with all the joy you may imagine. He dispatched Gourville to the duke to give him an account of his journey, and to assure him that he would be with him in three days time. The instances of the whole army, which was fatigued to the last degree by the ignorance of

of the generals, detained him longer. He was besides naturally inclined to stay at places where it was likely that some great action might offer; and I am going to speak of one of the bravest he ever performed.

It appeared by the first step that the prince took, as soon as he had joined the army, that the opinion of Mr. de Nemours, of which I have spoken, was not right; for the prince marched directly to Montargis, which he took without striking a blow. Maudreville, who had thrown himself into the castle, with eight or ten gentlemen and 200 foot, surrendered immediately. The prince put a garrison into it, and without losing one moment of time, he marched directly to the enemies, who were quartered separately. The king was at Gien; Mr. de Turenne had his general quarters at Briare, and those of Mr. d'Hocquincourt were at Bleneau.

The prince being informed that the forces of this last were dispersed in the neighbouring villages, he advanced towards Chateau-Renaut, and fell, like lightning, in the midst of these dispersed troops. He cut in pieces all the horse that were there, belonging to the regiments of Maine, of Roquepine, of Beaujeu, of Bourlaimont, and of Moret, who were endeavouring to get to the dragoons quarters, as they were ordered to do, but too late. The prince broke even through the dragoons quarter, sword in hand, whilst Tavannes was doing the like through the Croats * quarter. He pursued those that fled as far as Bleneau, where he met with the marechal d'Hocquincourt, who had 700 horse in good order, with whom he vigorously charged the prince's men, who, during the obscurity of the night, having engaged too far, were dispersed, and even against their general's command were busy in pillaging a village. The prince rallied them, and drew them up in battalia in the enemy's fight, though they were much stronger than he, and though he was obliged, by the great resistance they made at his first charging of them, to look to himself, having had a horse killed under him. His second charge was so vigorous, that he put them entirely to rout, insomuch that it was not in Mr. d'Hocquincourt's power to rally them. Mr. de Nemours was very much wounded on this occasion, wherein Messieurs de Beaufort, de la Rochefoucaut, and de Tavannes, signalized themselves. Mr. de Turenne, who had sent notice in the morning to Mr. d'Hocquincourt, that his troops were too

* Or Croatians.

too much dispersed, and too much exposed, and that the prince was coming to him; Mr. de Turenne, I say, came out of Briare, and drew up his forces in battalia, near a village, named, I think, Oucoi. He put fifty horse into a wood that stood betwixt him and the enemy, and through which they could not pass without defiling. He made those horse to retire immediately, with a design thereby to oblige the prince to engage himself in that defile, by making him believe that the retreat was occasioned by their fright. This stratagem succeeded, for the prince threw three or four hundred horse into the wood, who at their coming out of it were overthrown by Mr. de Turenne; and they could hardly have escaped, if the prince had not ordered some foot to advance, which stopped those that were pursuing them. Mr. de Turenne posted himself on a rising ground behind the wood; he placed his artillery there, which killed many men in the army of the princes, and, among others, Mare, brother to the mareschal de Grancey, who belonged to the duke, and who served as lieutenant-general in his troops. The two armies remained the whole day in sight of each other, and towards evening they both retired to their camps. It is a difficult matter to judge who got most honour that day, whether the prince or Mr. de Turenne. It may be said in general, that they both did what the two best generals in the world could have done. Mr. de Turenne saved the court, which had ordered, upon the news of Mr. d'Hocquincourt's defeat, the baggage to be packed up, without knowing precisely where they could find a retreat; and Mr. de Senneterre has since told me several times, that it was the only occasion on which he had seen the queen dejected and afflicted. It is certain, that if Mr. de Turenne, by his great capacity, had not maintained matters, and that if his army had had the fate of that of Mr. d'Hocquincourt, there had not been a town but would have shut their gates against the court. It was what the queen herself said that day, with tears in her eyes, to Mr. de Senneterre.

The advantage which the prince got over the mareschal d'Hocquincourt was not near of so great use to his party, because it was not pushed on afterwards, so far as the prince himself would have probably done had he staid with his army. You will see what passed there in his absence, after I have given you an account of the first effect which the prince's coming to Paris produced, and of some particulars relating to me.

You

You have already seen that the prince had sent Gourville to the duke, as soon as he had joined his army, to inform him that he would be at Paris in three days time. This news was a thunderbolt to him. He sent immediately for me, and at my coming he cried out, 'You had foretold it; what a new trouble on our hands! what a misfortune! We are now worse than ever.' I tried, but in vain, to put him in heart again; and all I could gain of him was that he would set a good face upon the matter, and keep his sentiments hid from every one, as he had done from Gourville. He performed this very exactly, for at his coming out of the dutchess's closet, he appeared with a most gay countenance, and published the news of the prince's coming, with great demonstrations of joy, though a quarter of an hour after he ordered me to omit nothing to spoil the sport, that is to bring, if possible, matters to a point, that might oblige the prince to make but a short stay at Paris. I begged of his royal highness not to charge me with this commission, 'which (said I to him) will not be for your service, for these two reasons: the first because I cannot execute it without giving the cardinal an advantage which will prove inconvenient to you; and the second, because you will never be able to stand it out, considering the temper which it has pleased God to form you of.' This way of speaking to a son of France, will, without doubt, appear to you a want of respect; but I desire that you will observe, that St. Remi, lieutenant of his guards, had used the same expression to him two or three days before, upon a trifling subject; that the duke had been pleased with it, and that he repeated it, speaking of himself on all occasions. The truth is, that it was not improper on this conjuncture, as you will presently see. Our contest upon this was pretty great, and I resisted for a long while; but I was obliged to submit and obey. I had more time to go about this piece of work than I expected; for the prince, whom the duke had been as far as Juvisy to meet, upon the first of April, thinking he would come that day to Paris, arrived there but on the 11th. By that means I had leisure enough to prevail with Mr. le Fèvre, prevost-des-marchands, who was indebted to me for that post, and who was my particular friend. He spoke about it to the mareschal de l'Hôpital, governor of Paris, who being well affected to the court, was easily persuaded. They called for an assembly at the town-house, in which it was resolved, that the governor, with the prevost-des-marchands, should wait on his royal highness to tell him, that it appeared to the assembly that it

was

was against order to admit the prince into the city, before he had purged himself in respect to the king's declaration against him, which had been verified in the parliament.

The duke, who was in a transport of joy at this speech, answered, That the prince came only to confer with him about some private affairs, and would not stay above twenty four hours at Paris. As soon as the deputies were gone, 'You are' (said he to me) a gallant man: "havete fatto politico: "how will Chavigny be surprized at this!' To this I answered immediately, 'Sir, I never served you so ill in my life: remember what I tell you.' Mr. de Chavigny, who was told at the same time both of the deputies speech and the duke's answer, reprimanded his royal highness for it, using of bravadoes, which he carried to insolence, and even to rage. He declared to the duke, that the prince was in a condition to stay at Paris as long as he pleased, without being obliged to ask any body's leave. By means of Pêche, one famous for being a seditious man, he formed a troop of 100 or 120 scoundrels upon the Pont-neuf, who had like to have pillaged the house of Mr. du Pleffis-Guenegaut; and he frightened the duke to a degree that he obliged him to make a public reprimand, both to the mareschal de l'Hôpital and to the prevost-des-marchands, for having registered at the town-house the duke's answer, which he affirmed to have been given them only in private, and as a secret. As I was about insinuating to the duke that I was in the right in what I had said to him, he interrupted me hastily, and said, 'Tis wrong to judge of things by the event. I was yesterday in the right; you are in the right to-day; what must be done with these sort of men?' He ought to have added, 'and with me?' which I took the liberty to do myself. For when I found, that notwithstanding all the experiments he had made, he continued in the same conduct, which, speaking to me, he had condemned a thousand times, since the prince had left Paris to go into Guienne, I thought that I had reason enough to include him among the sort of men of whom he complained. I therefore resolved to meddle as little as possible with his affairs; which conduct, it is true, would be wrong with some sort of men, in times that are very full of trouble, but which I thought necessary for me to follow, considering the duke's temper, which I could not redress; and considering likewise the state I was in at that present conjuncture, which I must beg leave to explain to you a little more at large.

I am obliged to tell you for the sake of truth, that as soon as I was made a cardinal, I began to feel the inconveniencies of

of that dignity, because I remembered what I had so often reflected on, of my having been too much transported at the splendor of the post of coadjutor. One of the causes of the abuse which men commonly make of their dignities, is their being dazzled with them at their first obtaining them, which occasions the first errors into which they fall, and which are always the most dangerous for a great many reasons. The stateliness which I had affected as soon as I was made coadjutor had a good success, because my uncle's meanness had made it necessary. But I clearly perceived, that had it not been for that consideration, and for some other seasonings which the disposition of the times rather than my own address, gave me room to accompany it with, that stateliness would not have been an effect of good sense, or at least would not have been attributed to it. The time I had had to reflect on this, obliged me to give a particular attention to my present dignity, which is apt enough to turn the heads of most of those that are honoured with it. The most visible, and in my opinion the most palpable illusion it subjects new-created cardinals to, is the pretension of preceding the princes of the blood, who may at every instant become our masters, and who in the mean while remain almost always so, in respect to our nearest relations, by the consideration they are in with them. I preserve a gratitude for the cardinals of my family, who have from my childhood taught me this lesson by their example; and I met with a pretty favourable opportunity of practising it on the very day that I received the news of my promotion. Chateau-Briant, whose name you have already met with in these memoirs, said to me in the presence of a great many gentlemen that were in my chamber: 'Now, sir, we shall cease to salute first.' This he said, because that though I was upon very ill terms with the prince of Condé, and that I commonly went well accompanied, I saluted him, as you may well judge, wherever I met him, with all the respect due to him from so many considerations. I answered Chateau-Briant, 'Pardon me, sir, we shall always salute first, and lower than ever. God forbid that the red hat should turn my head to that point, as to dispute the precedence with the princes of the blood. It is enough for a gentleman to have the honour to stand by their side.' These words, which in my opinion preserved afterwards in France the rank of cardinals, by the condescension of the prince of Condé, and the friendship, he had afterwards for me; these words, I say, produced a
good

good effect, by lessening the envy which was conceived against me, which is the greatest of all secrets.

To attain that end, I made still use of another means. Cardinal Richlieu and cardinal Mazarin, who had incorporated the dignity of minister into that of cardinal, had annexed to this last a sort of stateliness which can become neither of these dignities, but when they are joined together. It would have been difficult however, in the post I had at Paris, besides the cardinalship, not to have allowed me the same stateliness. But I parted with some of it of my own accord, and in a manner which made it impossible to attribute it to any thing but my own moderation, having declared openly that I would receive in public no other honours than those which had been rendered to cardinals of my family. And as all depends upon right management, I ordered my matters so, that I gave the upper-hand to nobody without exception. I waited on the marshals of France, the dukes and peers, the chancellor, the foreign princes, the illegitimate princes, who came to see me, no further than to the top of the stairs, and every body was well pleased.

The third means which I thought upon, was to omit nothing which decency could permit me, to recall all those to my service, who had parted from me, by reason of the different parties. It was impossible but that there must be a good number of them, because my fortune had been so variable and in such agitation, that part of those that were attached to me, were afraid at certain times to find themselves involved in it, and that others had opposed my interests on some occasions; to whom must be added those that had conceived hopes of making their court at my cost. I should tire you, if I entered into particulars, and it is enough for me to tell you, that Mr. de Berci came to my house at midnight; that I saw Mr. de Novion at Father Dom. Carouge's, a Carthusian; that I saw the president le Coigneux at the convent of the Celestins. Every one was glad to reconcile himself to me, when to the dignity of coadjutor they saw one added of a much superior kind. As for me, I was glad to be reconciled with every one, at a time when my advances could only be attributed to my generosity. I found a benefit by it; and the gratitude of some to whom I had saved the shame of the first advances, has recompensed me more than enough, of the ingratitude of some others. I maintain that policy requires as much as civility, of those that are in the highest posts, to save

that sort of shame to those that are under them, and to offer them their hand, when they dare not present theirs.

The conduct which I followed with application upon these several heads, agreed in more than one manner with the resolution I had taken to enjoy as much as possible the quiet which the great dignities that fortune had assembled in my person might naturally enough, in my opinion, have procured me.

I have already told you that the incorrigibility (if I may use that word) of the duke had discouraged me to such a degree, that I could no longer so much as imagine that he could in the least be relied upon. The incident that follows will convince you that I must have been very blind if I had been capable of reckoning upon the queen. You may remember what I have said towards the end of my second volume, of an imprudence of mademoiselle de Chevreuse, in respect to a part which I acted with the queen, in concert with madam de Chevreuse. She imparted it to her daughter, against my advice, and the daughter understood the jest at first extremely well; I even remember that she took pleasure in making me repeat the comedy of the Switzer, for so she used to call the queen. It happened one evening, that the company being very numerous at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, most of them fell a laughing, and to tell you the truth, I can give you no reason why I did not laugh with the rest. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who was the most capricious person in the world, took notice of it, and said to me, that she did not wonder at it, after what she had observed some time since, which was, as she fancied, that I was grown much colder in respect to her, and that I had even a correspondence with the court, which I kept hid from her. I fancied at first that she was in jest, there being not the least shadow of probability in what she said, and I did not discover that she was in earnest, till she had told me that she was in no manner ignorant of the errand upon which a certain footman of the queen's came every day to me. It is true, that there was such a footman that had for some time been pretty often at my house, but it is likewise true, that he had no errand for me, and that he came only to see one of my servants who was related to him. I cannot tell by what chance she became acquainted with it, and much less what could oblige her to draw from it the consequences she did. But she did draw them, and could not forbear her murmurings and threatnings. She said in the presence of Seguien, who had been valet-de-chambre to her mother, and
who

who had some employment either with the king or the queen-mother, that I had confessed a thousand times, that it was impossible for me to conceive how any body could be in love with that Switzer. In short, she managed her matters so, that it came to the queen's ear, that I had called her majesty Switzer, speaking to mademoiselle de Chevreuse. I was informed that she was told of it three or four days before the prince's coming to Paris, and it is what she has never forgiven me, as will appear by the sequel. You will easily imagine that this circumstance, which shewed that there was no great room for me to expect good usage at court, was no hindrance to the resolution I had taken to live for the future more retired. My place of retreat had nothing very dreadful; and I had besides the archiepiscopal mitre, and the cardinal's hat, to defend me against the bad weather. I was full of the advantages of this quiet life, which if I did not enjoy, I can assure you that it was by no fault of mine, but only because fortune would not have it so. I return to my narration.

The prince arrived at Paris on the eleventh of April, and the duke went to meet him a league out of town. Upon the twelfth, they went together to the parliament. As soon as they were entered into the grand chamber, the duke told the company, that he had brought the prince his cousin to assure them, that he had not, nor should ever have, any other intent than that of serving the king and the state; that he would always follow the company's advice; and that he offered to lay down his arms, as soon as the arrests given out against Mazarin were executed. The prince spoke himself afterwards to the same purpose, and he even required that the public declaration which he made of it should be inserted in their registers.

The president le Bailleul made answer: That the company took it always as an honour to see him there; but that they could not dissemble the great sorrow they had of seeing him with his hands stained with the blood of the king's men, who had been killed at Bleneau. A noise arose at that word from those of the inquests, which was like by its impetuosity, to have blown down the poor president de Bailleul; fifty or sixty voices were heard at once disowning of what he said; and I believe that they had been followed by a great many more, if the president de Nesmond had not stopped and appeased the noise, by the report he made of the remonstrances which he, together, with the other deputies of the company, had carried in writing to the king, who was at Sully. The remonstrances

were very strong and vigorous against the person and the conduct of the cardinal. The king caused the lord-keeper to answer the deputies, that he would consider of them after the company had sent him their informations; his Majesty being willing to give a judgment upon them himself. The president de Nesmond having made his report, the king's counsel were called in, who presented to the company a declaration, and a *lettre-de-cachet*, signifying that order to the parliament, and likewise that of registering without delay the declaration whereby that of the 6th of September, and the arrests given against the cardinal were superseded. Upon this the king's counsel being called again, they concluded after a sharp invective against the cardinal, that new remonstrances should be made to represent to the king the impossibility there was for the company to register this declaration, which against all manner of rules and forms submitted to a new judiciary proceeding, susceptible of a thousand objections, the most authentic declaration in the world, and that bore the greatest marks of the royal authority, and which consequently could not be revoked but by another declaration as authentic, and bearing the same characters. They added, that the new deputies ought to complain to his majesty that the first deputies were refused to have their remonstrances read in his presence; that they ought to insist upon this, as well as upon the reasons for not sending the informations which the court required; and that all the transactions of that day in the parliament should be registered, a copy of which should be sent to the lord-keeper. These were Mr. Talon's conclusions, which he spoke with wonderful vigour and eloquence. After this the company began their deliberation, which for want of time was put off to the 13th. The arrest followed without any contest, conformably to the conclusions, with these additions however; that the declaration which the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé had made, should be carried to the king by the deputies; that a copy of the remonstrances, and of what had been registered, should be sent to all the sovereign courts in Paris, and to all the parliaments of the kingdom, to invite them to send likewise deputies to the king from their several bodies; that a general assembly should incessantly be held at the Town-house, where the duke and the prince should be invited to come and to make there the same declaration that they had done in the parliament; and that in the mean while the king's declaration against cardinal Mazarin, and all the arrests given against him, should be executed.

The

The assemblies of the chambers, of the 15th, 17th, and 18th, were almost wholly employed in discussing the difficulties which offered about the regulating that general assembly at the Town-house: For example; Whether the duke and the prince should be present at the deliberation there, or whether they should withdraw after having made their declarations? Whether the parliament had the power to order that assembly, or whether they ought only to invite the *prevost-des-marchands*, with the other town-officers, and the chiefest citizens of every ward to assemble.

That assembly was held upon the 19th in the afternoon, at which sixteen deputies of the parliament were present. The duke and the prince made there their declarations in the like form as those they had made in the parliament; and after they were withdrawn, and that the king's attorney for the city had taken his conclusions, which were, that most humble remonstrances should be made to the king, both by word of mouth and in writing, against cardinal Mazarin; Mr. Aubry, president in the chamber of accounts and the eldest city counsellor, rose up and said, That it was too late to begin the deliberation, and that it was necessary to put off the assembly to the next day. He was in the right all manner of ways, for the clock had struck seven, and he held intelligence with the court.

The duke and the prince went to the parliament upon the 20th, and the duke told the company that he was certainly informed that the *mareschal de l'Hopital*, governor of Paris, and the *prevost-des-marchands*, had received a *lettre-de-cachet*, forbidding them to continue the assembly; that that letter was insignificant, being the work of Mazarin; and that he desired the company to send immediately for the *prevost-des-marchands* and the *echevins*, and to injoin them to have no manner of regard to it. There was no need of sending, for they came of themselves to acquaint the company with this *lettre-de-cachet*, and likewise that they had called an assembly of the city common-council, to advise about, what was best to be done. They were desired to withdraw that the company might deliberate, and being again called in, they were told that the company did not disapprove of the assembly which they had called, because it was according to order and to custom; but that the company gave them notice that a general assembly which was called upon such important matters, ought not, nor could not be stopped by a single *lettre-de-cachet*. The company after this had their letter to all the parliaments of the kingdom, read. It was short, but decisive.

decisive and pressing. That same day in the afternoon the general assembly was held at the town-house, as the common-council had ordered it in the morning. The president Aubry's advice was conformable to the city attorney's conclusions. An apothecary, named Desnots, who spoke very well, added, That they ought to write to all the towns in France, that were either the seats of parliaments, or of bishops, or of presidial courts; inviting them to hold assemblies like unto theirs, and to make the like remonstrances against the cardinal. That opinion, which had a majority of above seven voices that day, had the minority at the next assembly, which was held upon the twenty-second. Some having said in that assembly, That that union of all the towns was a kind of league against the king: this brought the majority to the advice of the president Aubry, which was only for making remonstrances to the king about the removal of cardinal Mazarin, and his majesty's return to Paris. That same day the duke and the prince went to the chamber of accounts, where they caused the like declarations to those they had made at the parliament and at the town-house to be registered. That chamber resolved likewise upon sending remonstrances against the cardinal.

Upon the twenty-third, the duke told the parliament, That Mazarin's army having possessed themselves, under pretence of the king's approach, of Melun and of Corbeil, against the promise made by the mareschal de l'Hopital, that the troops should keep at twelve leagues distance from Paris, he was obliged to make his army advance likewise. After this he went with the prince to the court of aids, where matters were carried on as in other places.

Though I can answer for the truth of the facts which I have mentioned, in respect to the assemblies that were held at that time, that is, from the first of March to the 23d of April, because there is not one but what I have verified myself with the registers of the parliament, or of the town-house, I have not thought that the truth of history required that I should insist upon them with the same attention or reflection, as I have done in relation to the assemblies of the chambers, where I had been present in person. The difference between a narration writ upon memoirs, though never so good, and a narration of facts which one has one's self seen, is as great as between a picture drawn upon hear-says, and one drawn from the life. All that I could meet with in these registers can be at most but the body of the thing, for as to the spirit of the deliberations,

it is impossible to discover it by the bare reading of them. It is often much better discerned, by a look, a gesture, an air, sometimes even almost imperceptible; than by the substance of things that appear the most important, which however, is the only matter of which the registers ought to give us an account. I desire that you would take this observation, as a mark of the exactness I have, and always will have, to be wanting in nothing that may serve to the explanation of a subject upon which you have commanded me to write. The account which I am going to give you, of what I was observing at that time of the secret springs which gave motion to these several machines, is a thing which I am better able to perform, and which I hope I shall do pretty exactly.

It is impossible that after having seen the unanimous consent of all these bodies, conspiring together the ruin of cardinal Mazarin, you should not be persuaded that he is upon the very brink of the precipice, and that nothing less than a miracle can save him. The duke was as much persuaded of it as you can be, at his coming from the town-house, and he bantered me, in the presence of the marshal d'Estampes and of the viscount d'Autel, on the opinion Fall along had, that the parliament and the city would fail them. I confess now, as I confessed to him at that time, that I mistook in that point, and that I was surprised beyond what you can imagine, at the step that the parliament had taken. Not but that the court contributed to it as much as lay in its power; and the imprudence of the cardinal, which precipitated the company into it against their will, was certainly more than sufficient to excuse, or at least diminish the shame which I might have, to have formed such a wrong judgment. It came into his head to command the parliament, in the king's name, to revoke and annul, properly speaking, all that that company had done against him, just at the instant that the prince arrived at Paris; and the man in the world that was the least ashamed of making use of illusions, and who loved them best when they were unnecessary, affected to reject them on a occasion in which I believe that a man of the greatest probity might have used them without scruple.

It is certain that nothing was in itself more odious than the prince's coming to the parliament, four days after having cut in pieces a good part of the king's army; and I am convinced that if the court had not been over-hasty, and had forbore doing any thing at that instant, all the several bodies, who
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in truth began to be weary of the civil war, had soon given signs of their weariness at the sight of the prince, who came only to engage them the more openly into it. That conduct in the court had been wise, but they took one quite opposite to it, which did not fail to produce a quite contrary effect; for by exasperating these bodies, they reconciled them in an instant to the prince. He ceased from that moment to be the man that had routed the king's troops, and was now only looked upon as one that came to Paris to oppose Mazarin's return. These representations of things, so different from one another, entered even into the heads of those who would have sworn that they could not confound them. In a time of such a general prevention, none but philosophers can distinguish these sorts of ideas right. But such men are few in number, and are besides counted for nothing, because they are never seen with a halbert in their hands. The busy men that make a noise with the people, and harangue in assemblies, are those that confound these ideas. This is exactly what the imprudence of Mazarin brought about; and I remember that Bachaumont, whom you know, was telling me, the very day that the king's counsel brought to the parliament the last *lettre-de-cachet* which I have spoken of, that the cardinal had found out the secret of making Boisleve a Frondeur. In saying that, he said all, for Boisleve was the arrantest Mazarinian that ever was known.

You will without doubt believe that the duke and the prince did not fail of making use of this imprudence of the court. Not at all; on the contrary they let not one opportunity slip of neglecting and of spoiling all; and it is particularly on this occasion that it must be owned that there are faults that are more than human. You will not be surprised at those into which the duke fell, but I am still wondering at those of the prince, who was, even at that time, naturally the man in the world the most incapable of committing them. His age, his birth, his courage, might have made him commit errors of another nature, which nobody would have wondered at. Those which I am going to specify, could proceed from none of these causes; much less could they proceed from opposite ones, to which it is impossible for any body to attribute them; from whence I conclude, that that sort of blindness so often mentioned in scripture, is even sometimes easily perceived in men's actions. Was there any thing more natural to the prince and more agreeable to his inclination, than to have pushed on his victory and reaped from it the advantages

advantages which in all likelihood he might have done, if he had continued to command his own army in person? But instead of doing that, he abandons it to the conduct of two novices; and Mr. de Chavigny's inquietness, which recalls him to Paris upon a pretence, or a reason which had no reality at the bottom, overweighs with him what his warlike inclination, and his true interest ought to have led him to, which was to stick to his troops. Was there any thing more necessary to the duke and to the prince, than the fixing, if I may say so, the happy moment in which the imprudence of the cardinal had delivered into their hands the first parliament of the kingdom, which hitherto had hesitated about declaring itself, and had from time to time taken steps, not only weak, but dubious? Instead of making use of that instant, by binding the parliament entirely to them, they occasioned a sort of fright in that company, which never fails to disgust at first, and afterwards to create aversion; and they suffer them to take a sort of liberty, which at first accustoms them to resistance, and which infallibly produces it at last. I explain myself. As soon as the news came of the approach of the prince, there were papers posted up, and a great commotion upon the Pont-neuf. The prince had no hand, nor could have any, in it, for he was not arrived at Paris when it happened, which was upon the second of March: it is true, that it was done by order of the duke, as I have mentioned before.

Upon the 25th of April, the office for the toll at the gate of St. Anthony was broke open and pillaged by the mob; and Mr. de Cumont, counsellor of the parliament, who happened by chance to be there, coming to the duke in his library, where I was with him, and acquainting him with it, received this answer: 'I am sorry for it: but it is not amiss that the people should now and then awake. There is no blood spilled; the rest is no great matter.'

Upon the 30th, the prevost-des-marchands, and other town-officers, who were coming back from the duke's, were like to have been murdered at the end of the street de Tournon; and they complained the next day to the parliament that they had received no assistance, either from the duke or the prince, though they had sent to require it.

Upon the 10th of May, the king's attorney for the city, and two echevins, had been killed in the parliament-hall, had it not been for Mr. de Beaufort, who had much ado to save them.

Upon the 13th, Mr. Quelin, counsellor of the parliament, and captain of his ward, having brought his company to the parliament for its usual guard, was deserted by all the citizens that composed it, who cried aloud that they were not assembled to guard Mazarinians; and upon the 24th Mr. Molé de St. Croix complained in full parliament, that upon the 20th he had like to have been cut in pieces by the seditious.

You must observe, that the mob, that alone committed all the disorder, had nothing in their mouth but the name and the service of the princes, who never failed to disown their doings the next day in the assembly of the chambers. That disowning, which was commonly very sincere, occasioned the sharp arrests which the parliament put out on all occasions against the seditious; but it did not prevent the company from believing, that those that disowned the sedition, were themselves the authors of it; and consequently it abated nothing of the hatred which many counsellors conceived at it; and it accustomed the company to give out arrests which were not, at least as they thought, pleasing to the princes. I am not ignorant, and I have said it elsewhere, that in weak and troublesome times that inconvenience is inseparable from popular power, and nobody has more experienced it than I. But it must likewise be owned, that neither the duke nor the prince had all the necessary application for salving the appearances of things which they did not in effect command. The duke, who was a weak man, was afraid of offending the people by repressing with too much violence the seditious; and the prince, who was an intrepid man, did not reflect enough upon the ill and powerful effects that these commotions caused with those that feared him.

I must confess myself in this place, and own to you, that as my interest led me to weaken the credit of the prince with the public, I made use for that effect of all the colours which the conduct of many persons of his party furnished me with in abundance. Never was any man less capable than the prince himself of following that conduct; and nothing was ever easier than to charge him with the envy and the appearances of it. Pêche was every day in the court of the hôtel de Condé, and the commander de St. Simon was always waiting in the anti-chamber. You may judge that this last had played some very strange trick, since I made no scruple, notwithstanding his quality, to confound him with such a wretch as Pêche was. It is certain that I made a very advantageous

vantageous use of these two names against the interest of the prince, who was in truth no otherwise to blame in respect to them, than in not being attentive enough to their foolish doings. But without being wanting to the respect I owe his highness, I dare say that he was less excusable in not opposing at first certain liberties, which some private members of all the courts of justice took, to resist him openly, and even to attack him personally. I know that the duke of Orleans's natural softness, and the continual jealousy he entertained of the prince, obliged this last to dissemble; but I likewise know that he was himself too soft on these occasions, and that if he had spoke and acted as he might have done when the court offered him so fair an opportunity, he had brought Paris, and the duke himself, to submit to his will without using any violence. But my love for truth, which has obliged me to observe the fault, obliges me likewise to admire the principle from which it was derived. It is something so fine in the man of the world of the most heroic courage to have fallen into faults out of an excess of goodness, that what he has not succeeded in, in respect to politics, ought at least to be admired and exalted by all honest people in respect to his morals. It is necessary to mention these particulars in few words.

Mr. Fouquet, attorney-general, and known for a Mazarinian, though he declaimed against the cardinal in his turn, came into the grand chamber on the 17th of April, and in the presence of the duke of Orleans, and of the prince, required of this last in the king's name, to give him a communication of the several associations and treaties which he had made both without and within the kingdom; adding, that in case the prince refused to do it, he demanded of the company an acknowledgment in writing of what he had requested, and of the opposition he made to the registering the declaration of the prince, about his laying down his arms as soon as cardinal Mazarin should be removed.

Mr. Menardeau declared publicly at the great assembly held at the town-house on the 20th of April, that his opinion was, that no remonstrance ought to be made against the cardinal, till the princes had laid down their arms.

Upon the 22d of that same month of April, none of the presidents of the chamber of accounts, except the first, met at their chamber, upon some pretence or other, which appeared at that time a very slight one: I do not remember the particulars. Mr. Perroches, an instant after, told the
princes

princes to their faces, that an arrest ought to be issued out to forbid the levying any troops without the king's leave; and on the same day Mr. Amelot, first president of the court of aids, said openly to the prince, that he wondered to see at that place a prince who after having so often triumphed over the enemies of the state, had lately united with them. I mention these only as samples of what was then doing. There were every day others of the like nature, and there was none, however inconsiderable it might appear at that instant, that did not leave in the minds of the people some of these sorts of impressions that are not felt for the present, but that are afterwards remembered. It is indeed prudent in the head of a party to bear with things which it is best for him to dissemble; but too much easiness in such cases, accustoms not only bodies, but private persons, to resistance. The duke, led by his humour, and by the jealousy which the prince gave him at every instant, was unwilling to displease any body. The prince, who was in the faction only by force, did not study with application enough the principles of a science which the admiral de Coligny used to say, that nobody could ever be master of. In this manner both the duke and the prince left not only to every one the liberty of delivering their opinion, but even suffered them to carry it to licentiousness. They thought in all the occasions which I have mentioned, that it was enough for them to have carried it by a majority of votes, as indeed it had, if the matters in question had been such as are decided by the ordinary course of the law. They did not distinguish timely enough the difference there is between speaking freely, and speaking licentiously; and they could not persuade themselves that a speech pronounced with authority, with judgment, and in a decisive manner; and made besides at convenient times, and at such critical moments as are now and then to be met with, might have produced that distinction, without the least shadow of violence. By that means they all along suffered a certain air of a party opposite to theirs, to remain at Paris, which never fails to grow to a body when it is supported by the royal authority. If it had pleased the duke and the prince to remove from Paris, any one of those that had been wanting to the respect due to them on the occasions I have spoken of, which they might have done in a civil manner, the companies of which they were members had not opposed it. The court of aids disowned publicly what Mr. Amelot, their first president, had said to the prince; that company would

would have consented to his removal, if the prince had required it; they had even thanked his highness for it the first day, and the next day they had trembled. The secret in matters of this nature, is to keep people to their obedience, by apprehensions which they have themselves occasioned, and been instrumental to; these sorts of fears being commonly the most effectual, and always the least odious. You will see what the contrary conduct produced. But that which was of great help to induce them to a contrary conduct, was the itch of negotiating (so old St. Germain called it) which was, properly speaking, the epidemical disease of the prince's party.

Mr. de Chavigny, who had been brought up to state affairs from his infancy, thought of nothing else but of getting into them again at what rate soever Mr. de Rohan, whose only talent, properly speaking, was dancing, knew very well that the court was his only element. Goulas had no other will but that of Mr. de Chavigny. These gentlemen, you see, could not but be very susceptible of proposals and negotiations. The prince was, by his inclination, his education, and his maxims, more averse to a civil war than any man I have ever known, without exception. And the duke, whose predominant character was to be always full of fear and of distrust, was, of all men I have ever seen, the most capable of falling into false steps, by the dread he had of falling into them; being in that like unto hares. These dispositions made both the duke and prince no less susceptible of hearkening to proposals and negotiations. The quality in which cardinal Mazarin excelled, was to go about the bush; to give to understand; to feed with hopes; to cast a mist before one's eyes; to offer proposals, and afterwards to entangle them. This sort of genius was altogether fit for making use of the illusions, which those that have in hand the royal authority are never without, to engage people in negotiations. It was indeed what he did with every one; and these engagements were in part the cause of the conduct which I have explained, because they amused people with the false hopes of an accommodation: but the worst effect they produced, and which made the conduct I have spoken of altogether pernicious, was that they gave courage to those in the city and the parliament who were well inclined to the court, and that they took it away from those who were sincerely attached to the opposite party. I will explain these particulars; after I have given you an account of the motion of the armies of both

both sides, and of that which I was obliged to make in this conjuncture, against both my inclination and resolution.

The king, whose design, as I believe I have already told you, had all along been to approach Paris, left Guienne immediately after the fight at Bleneau, and took his way by Auxerre, and by Melun, as far as to Corbeil; whilst messieurs de Turenne and d'Hocquincourt, who advanced with the army as far as Moret, were covering his march; and whilst messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours, who had been obliged to quit Montargis for want of forage, were gone to encamp at Estampes. The court coming afterwards as far as St. Germain, Mr. de Turenne posted himself at Palaiseau, which obliged the princes to put garrisons into St. Clou, Port de Neuilly, and Charenton. You will easily judge that all these motions of troops were not made without a great deal of disorder and pillaging, which last being looked upon at the parliament as no better than robbing on the highway, occasioned every day some scene there, that had not been unworthy to be inserted in the ingenious satire written against the league. The scene in which I was acting my part at the duke's palace, was of another nature. I went thither every day without fail; both because the duke would have it so, to let the prince see that in case of need he might always reckon upon me; and because it was likewise advantageous to me to let the public see that what those of the prince's party were every day saying against me, about my holding intelligence with the cardinal, was neither believed nor approved of by his royal highness. I kept always in the library, because not having yet received my cap from the king's hands, I did not appear in public. At the time of my being there, the prince was very often either in the gallery, or in the chamber. The duke was continually going to him, and returning back to me, both because he could never stay long in a place, and because he sometimes affected it for different ends. The common sort of people, who love always to be mysterious, pretended that this continual motion, which was natural to him, was the effect of the different impressions which he received from the prince and me. The prince thought me the author of all that the duke did not do for the good of the party: The little attention I had had for the offers made to Mr. de Brissac, by the means of the count de Fiesque, had newly exasperated him. There happened even occasions where

where the duke thought it was convenient for him that the prince's anger against me should not diminish. The truce betwixt us in respect to writing was broke. Pamphlets began afresh from his side, which I thought fit to answer; and it was on this occasion, or at least on some others that followed it, that I published some of those pamphlets which I have mentioned in the second volume of these memoirs (though out of their place) that I might not be obliged to touch twice upon a matter too slight in itself to be spoken of so many times. I shall only tell you by the by, that the pamphlet entitled, 'The disappointments of Mr. de Chavigny, first minister to the prince,' which I dictated to Caumartin for a pastime, touched that haughty and vain man to such a degree, that he could not forbear shedding tears at it in the presence of above a dozen persons of quality that were in his chamber. One of them acquainting me with it the next day, I said these words to him in the presence of messieurs de Laincourt and de Fontenay: 'I entreat you to tell Mr. de Chavigny, that being conscious of the many good qualities that are in him, I would write his panegyric still more willingly, than I have done the pamphlet which he is so much touched at.'

I have already acquainted you with my resolution of keeping quiet as much as possible, it being certain that I could gain nothing, and could lose very much by stirring. I accomplished it in part, having hardly had any hand in any thing that was transacted at that time, because I was fully convinced that there would seldom happen any occasion of acting handsomely, and that even the few that might perhaps offer of acting wisely, would be missed by reason of the different and complicated views which every body had in this circumstance of time. I therefore rested myself upon my two great dignities, as being the surest foundation of my fortune; and I remember that the president de Bellievre telling me one day that I should bestir myself more than I did, I immediately answered him: 'We are in the midst of a great tempest, wherein it seems to me that our ship is sailing against the wind. I am provided with two good oars, a cardinal's mace, and an archbishop's crozier. I am unwilling to break them, and my business now is only to keep above water.'

You have seen that being obliged to wait very often on the duke, I was forced to appear outwardly more active than I intended. Necessity even obliged me not to remain altogether quiet, because of the noise those of the prince's party made

made by their pamphlets against me, wherein I was treated as a favourer of Mazarin. I was obliged to reply by other pamphlets, and the noise this made, added to my frequent visits to the duke, which though they were publicly known, appeared the more mysterious, because I was obliged for the reason I have more than once mentioned, to go there only incognito, produced three very ill effects against me. The first was, that it occasioned even indifferent persons to believe that it was impossible for me to keep at rest: The second, that it persuaded the prince that I was irreconcilable to him: And the third, that it served to exasperate the court more and more against me, because I could not reply to the prince's pamphlets, without inserting in mine things that could not be agreeable to the cardinal. These inconveniencies could not be avoided without falling into greater. For the only means I had for avoiding the first, was an entire retreat from the world, which had been unbecoming at a time that it had been attributed to the pretended fear I had of the prince, and which had been against the respect and the service that I owed the duke, at a time when my presence, at least as he fancied, was necessary to him. I could avoid the second, only by reconciling myself with the prince, or by suffering him to take with the public all the advantages which he pleased against me: This last had been foolish, and the first was impracticable, both by reason of my engagements with the queen upon that account, and of the disposition of the duke, who would always keep me as a reserve to help him in case of need. I could not avoid the third without taking steps towards the court, which the cardinal would not have failed to make use of to ruin me, as the following example will shew.

As soon as I had received the news of my promotion, I sent Argentueil to the king and to the queen to give them an account of it; and I charged him expressly not to visit the cardinal, to whom I was, as you have seen, very far from thinking myself indebted for it, and whom I was besides willing to mark by a circumstance of this nature, with the parliament and with the public, for my enemy. The duke was so kind or so prudent to tell me himself, that he owned that it was necessary for me to give Argentueil that order, but that I ought however to do it with a proviso, and that in the state in which things were or would perhaps be at his arrival at Saumur, where the court was at that time, he thought it best that Argentueil should not be kept within too strict bounds, and that I should leave it to his discretion to see the

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the cardinal in secret if he required it, and if the princess Palatine, to whom I recommended Argentueil for the introducing of him to the queen, thought it useful. 'Who knows, added he, if by the event, this may not be good for something, even for the main of our affairs? Prudence requires that one should not lose any opportunity that offers of amusing, when one has to do with those that make it their business to amuse. Mazarin will without doubt render Argentueil's conference with him public; but where's the harm? Mazarin is an arrant liar whom nobody believes, and true or false he will publish it.' These were the duke's words, which proved a kind of prophecy. The cardinal would see Argentueil in the night-time at the princess Palatine's. He told him, (moved without doubt with an excessive kindness for me) that if I had been foolish enough to order that he should have visited him publicly, he would, with an intent of serving me, have mended that fault of mine, by a public refusal. He shewed a mighty regard for every thing that concerned me, and he would have made Argentueil believe that he was resolved to share the ministry with me.

It is certain however that before Argentueil was returned to Paris, the duke was informed by Goulas, not of what had really passed in respect to that visit, but of all that would have passed if it had been of my own seeking, and made unknown to his royal highness, with a design of diserving him. This I think is sufficient to shew you what was working against me, and may serve to justify the conduct I followed at that time.

It is by your order that I am writing the history of my life, and the pleasure I take in obeying you faithfully, is the cause that I have spared myself so little, for you may hitherto have observed that I have taken no pains about making my apology. But I now find myself obliged to do it, because it has been on this occasion that my enemies have found it the most easy to impose upon the credulity of the vulgar. I know that people were saying at that time: 'Is it possible that the cardinal de Retz is not satisfied to be at his age a cardinal and archbishop of Paris? How can it come into his head that he can obtain by force of arms the first place in the king's council?' I know that the pitiful gazettes of that time are still full of these ridiculous ideas. I confess that these ideas had still been much more ridiculous than they are made appear in these papers, if I had really entertained any such views or such hopes. But it is certain that I was very far from doing

ing it, not only by the unreasonableness of the thing, considering the circumstances; but even by my own inclination, which carried me with such a rapidity, both towards pleasure, and towards reputation, that the post of minister, which is a great obstacle to pleasure, and always renders reputation odious, was still more against my taste, than above my capacity. I do not know whether I am making my apology in speaking to you after this manner, but I am sure at least that I am not making my panegyric. I consider that I am obliged above all things to say the truth, which indeed will not serve me much with posterity for excusing myself, but which will at least be of some service to shew that the greatest part of ordinary men that judge of the actions of persons in great posts, ought at least to be stiled presumptuous fools. I begin to perceive that I have made this digression too long, which you will perhaps attribute to vanity. I believe it does not proceed from that principle, and that the pleasure I take in justifying myself has no other cause but my desire of receiving your approbation.

It is impossible that when you reflect on the situation I was in at the time which I have described, but that you must remember what I have told you more than once, that there are conjunctures wherein it is impossible to act well. The duke of Orleans was I believe repeating these words a hundred times in a day, sighing and lamenting more than you can imagine, for not hearkening to me when I was representing to him that he would himself fall into this state, and cause every body to fall into it with him. But my situation was still the worse by reason of some domestic disappointments (for I believe I may call them by that name) that happened to me at this time.

You have already seen that madam de Chevreuse, Noirmoutier, and Laigues, had begun in some sort to keep divided from me; and that under pretence that they could neither directly nor indirectly come into the interest of the prince, they had, in effect, abandoned that of the duke, though they continued to observe outwardly all the measures of civility and respect they owed his royal highness. Their measures with the court became much closer. The abbot Fouquet had succeeded Berthet in this negotiation, as I learnt from the duke himself, who obliged me, or rather forced me, to dive into it more than I had done if I had not had his express order; for in truth, since what had passed at the Hôtel de Chevreuse when the cardinal re-entered the kingdom, I had ceased to rely in any wise upon them, and I continued to go thither, only

only because I saw mademoiselle de Chevreuse there, who had not failed me. I thought myself obliged to the duke for his giving no manner of credit to what Chavigny and Goulas were saying against me from morning to night, about the commerce there was between the persons I have named and the court, which in effect opened a large field to calumniate me, and I thought myself thereby the more obliged to watch them myself. This consideration made me enter, against my inclination, into some measures with the abbot Fouquet. I say against my inclination, for the little I had seen of that gentleman at madam de Guimené's, where he went pretty often to see mademoiselle de Menessin, a relation of his, had given me no great opinion of him. He was very young at the time of his going thither, but he had even then a certain air of a rash, passionate man, which I did not like. I saw him two or three times, in the evening, at a friend of his named le Fevre de la Barre, who was son to the prevost-des-marchands, upon pretence of conferring with him about breaking the cabals which the prince was making to render himself master of the people. Our correspondence lasted not long; both because I drew immediately from him all that I wanted to know; and because he grew quickly weary of conversations that answered not his purpose. He would have had me at the first instant to become as great a Mazarinian as he was himself, not conceiving it fit to preserve any measures. He may, for ought I know, have become since an able man, but I can assure you that at that time he spoke no better than if he had been but just come from college. I believe that that might be of no disservice to him with mademoiselle de Chevreuse, with whom he fell in love, and she with him. Little de Roye, who was a pretty German woman belonging to her, informed me of it. I comforted myself easily enough with the waiting-woman of the infidelity of the mistress, whose choice, to tell you the truth, did not humble me. I took however the liberty to break some jests at the abbot, who thought, or who seemed to think, that I had carried them too far, and that I had threatened to have him cudgelled. I never thought of any such thing, and yet he had preserved as great a resentment for it, as if it had been true. He contributed much to my imprisonment; and Mr. le Tellier has told me at Fontainebleau, after my return from foreign parts into France, that he had offered several times to the queen, to kill me. My anger against him went not near so far, and was not greater than my jealousy, which

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was but moderate. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse had only beauty, of which one grows weary when nothing is joined to it. She had wit only for the man she loved, but as she never loved long, her wit lasted but a little while. She grew angry at her lovers as she did at her cloaths. Other women grow weary of theirs, she burnt hers, and it was with the utmost difficulty that her women could save a petticoat, a hood, a pair of gloves, or a point de Venise. I believe that if she could have burnt her lovers too when she grew weary of them, she had done it with all her heart. Her mother, who would have set her at variance with me, when she resolved to unite intirely with the court, lost her labour, though she had engaged madam de Guimené to shew her a billet under my hand, writ to that lady, whereby I gave myself up to her, body and soul, as witches do to the devil. In the quarrel that I had with Noirmoutier and Laigues, at the time that the cardinal entered into France, she took my part in the most passionate manner; but in two months time she changed, without knowing any reason why. She grew of a sudden passionate for Charlotte, one of her women that was very pretty, and who would stick at nothing; but this lasted but six weeks, after which she became in love with the abbot Fouquet, and to that degree that she would have married him, had he been willing. It was at that time that madam de Chevreuse, finding herself idle at Paris, resolved to leave it and retire to Dampierre, being drawn thither by the hopes that Laigues (who had been at court) had given her, that she would be very well received there. I had an eclaircissement with mademoiselle de Chevreuse, to whom I opened my grievances, which, to say the truth, I did not much stomach, and which did not hinder me from sending all the gentlemen and all the horse I had by me, to convoy both the mother and the daughter as far as Dampierre. I cannot finish this slight sketch that represents the state in which I was at that time, without doing the prince of Condé the justice I owe him for his generosity. Angerville, who belonged to the prince of Conti, came from Bourdeaux, with a design of attempting against my life, as the prince at least believed or suspected. I am ashamed that I can give you no exact account about the particulars, because one can never enter too much into the detail of good actions, chiefly of those one ought to keep a grateful remembrance of. The prince meeting Angerville in the Rue de Tournon, told him, that he would order him

to be hanged, if he did not leave the town within two hours to rejoin his master.

Some days after the prince being at Prudhomme's, who lodged in the street called d'Orleans, and having by him in that street his company of guards, and a great number of officers, Mr. de Rohan came to him all in a sweat, to tell him that he had just left me in a sad plight; that I was at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, having with me only the chevalier d'Humieres, cornet of my gens d'armes, and not above thirty horse. The prince answered him with a smile, The cardinal de Retz is either too strong or too weak. Much about that time Marigny told me, that being in the prince's chamber, and having observed that he was reading a book with great attention, he had taken the liberty to tell him that it must be some very fine piece, since he took so much pleasure in reading of it; and that the prince answered him, 'Tis very true that I read this with great pleasure, because it tells me my faults, which is more than any body dare venture to do.' You must observe, that what he was reading was a pamphlet of mine, intituled, 'What is true and what is false in the prince of Condé, and in the cardinal de Retz;' which might easily have piqued and angered the prince, because I sincerely own that I had been wanting in it to the respect I owed him. What the prince said on this occasion is great, wise, and noble, and may be called an apophthegm, of which Plutarch had not failed to take hold with pleasure to honour ancient times with.

I return to what was passing at that time in the assembly of the chambers, of which you have already seen the best part in the observations I have made, and on which I have even dwelt pretty long. I have mentioned to you the itch of negotiating as a disease that reigned in the party of the princes. Mr. de Chavigny had actually, but secretly, a negotiation on foot with the cardinal, by the means of Mr. de Fabert. It came to nothing, because the cardinal was at the bottom against an accommodation, and wanted only the appearance of one to discredit, with the parliament and with the people, the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé. He made use to that effect of the king of England, who proposed to the king of France a conference at Corbeil. It was accepted at court, as it was likewise at Paris, by the duke and by the prince, to whom the queen-mother of England proposed it. The duke acquainted the parliament with it upon the 26th of April, and he sent the next day messieurs de

de Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, to St. Germain's, where the king was gone from Corbeil. I took the liberty that evening to ask the duke if he had some certainty, or at least some view, that that conference would be to any purpose; and he answered me, whistling betwixt whiles, 'I don't believe it; but who can help it? Every body is negotiating: I will not be left by myself.' You must give me leave to mark that answer, because it contains at once the whole conduct of the duke in respect to all the negotiations which are to follow. He never had any other view in any of them. He negotiated merely because he saw others negotiate; he used no other art, no other cunning than that. He made no other answer, whenever I happened to represent to him the inconveniencies of that conduct, which however I never did, till after I had his repeated command for it, above five or six times.

I believe that you will cease to wonder that I would not concern myself in all this. You will still be the less surprized at it, when I have told you that after the negotiation, of which I have been speaking, which only served to discredit the party, as you will presently see, there were five or six others, or rather a chain of them, which messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, Goulas, Gourville, and madam de Châtillon, had in hand one after another. I gave however my helping hand to their work, which I embroidered with all the colours which might be of use to me with the public. As my business was to cast upon that party the hatred and envy of Mazarinianism, which those that composed it tried to charge me with on all occasions, I did my very best to discover and expose publicly the private advantages which these several negotiators were earnestly seeking for in their treaties. The proposals of the government of Guienne for the prince of Condé, of that of Provence for the prince his brother, of that of Auvergne for Mr. de Nemours, of a hundred thousand crowns, which were asked for Mr. de la Rochefoucault, of the staff of marshal of France for Mr. du Doignon, of a patent of duke for Mr. de Montespan, of the superintendancy of the finances for Mr. du Doignon, of the empowering the duke of Orleans to make a general peace, and the prince of Condé to name the ministers, were painted out with all the liveliness and extent possible. I thought it no imposture in me to publish that all that I have mentioned had been proposed, because it is certain that I had such advices from court, though I would not swear that some articles were

not

not amplified. What I know to be altogether true is, that the cardinal gave room to every one to expect, that whatever they demanded should be granted, without ever intending, for any single instant, to grant any thing at all. He gave himself the pleasure of exposing in public messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, conferring with him, both in private and before the king, at the very instant that the duke and the prince were saying publicly in the assembly of the chambers, that a previous article to all treaties was the having no manner of commerce with Mazarin. The cardinal acted a comedy in the presence of the gentlemen whom I have named, in which, whilst he was kneeling to the king, intreating him to give him leave to return into Italy, he had contrived that his majesty should publicly command him to stay; which command the poor cardinal was forced to obey. He had the pleasure to shew Gourville to all the court, though he caused him to come by a private stair-case. He had the pleasure likewise to amuse Gaucourt, who, by his profession of negotiator, gave the negotiation still a greater lustre. In short, things came to that point that madam de Châtillon went publicly to St. Germain's; upon which Nogent said, that when she entered the castle she wanted only to carry an olive-branch in her hand. She was in effect received and treated there as a Minerva. But the difference betwixt that goddess and her was, that Minerva in all likelihood would have foreseen the siege of Estampes, which the cardinal undertook at that same instant, and in which he was prevented, but by a very little matter, from ruining entirely the whole party of the prince. You will see by and by the particulars of that siege, which I have touched upon here, only because it served to put an end to the several negotiations of which I have spoke, and which I have been glad to mention together, that I might not be obliged to interrupt so frequently the thread of my narration.

But I doubt you are yourself interrupting of it at this instant, to tell me that cardinal Mazarin must be a man of great skill, to deceive people, in a manner so useful to him, by so many appearances of advantageous accommodations. To this my answer is, that those who have in their hands the royal authority, find an incredible facility in amusing those who have a great aversion to make war against the king. I am in doubt whether I am excusing or praising the prince. I am speaking the truth, which I have taken the liberty to speak to

to himself. There had like to have been some stirring in the parliament upon the day that the duke spoke of the conferences which messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, had had at St. Germain's with the cardinal.

This happened at the parliament on the 30th of April. The murmur was such, that the duke, who was frightened at it, said publicly, that they would never see him there again till the cardinal was out of France. The company resolved that the attorney-general should be sent to court to solicit the necessary passes for the deputies that were to make the new remonstrances, and to complain of the disorders committed by the soldiers in the neighbourhood of Paris.

Upon the 3d of May the attorney-general made his report of what he had done at St. Germain's, in pursuance of the orders of the company. He said that the king would hear the remonstrances on Monday the 6th of that month, and that his majesty was very sorry that the conduct of the duke of Orleans and of the prince of Condé should oblige him to keep his army so near Paris. The town-house ordered that day the city-gates to be guarded, which they would not do however, before they had first a lettre-de-cachet to command them to do it. The court sent that order, because they knew there that the duke would at least oblige them to do it of his own authority. It was certainly a very necessary thing, tumults and disorders visibly encreasing at Paris every day.

Upon the sixth, the remonstrances of the parliament and of the chambers of accounts were made to the king with a great deal of vigour.

Upon the seventh, those of the court of aids and of the town-house were likewise made. The king's answer to all these remonstrances was, that he would order his troops to retire, when those of the princes were removed further. The lord-keeper, who spoke in his majesty's name, did not so much as pronounce the name of the cardinal.

Upon the tenth, it was resolved in the parliament, that the king's counsel should be sent again to St. Germain's to demand an answer about the removal of cardinal Mazarin, and to insist further upon the army's retiring from the neighbourhood of Paris.

The prince came to the parliament upon the 11th, to inform the company that the bridge of St. Cloud was attacked. He caused as many citizens as he found willing to take up arms, and he carried them as far as the Bois de Boulogne, where he had notice that those who had reckoned upon taking the

the bridge of St. Cloud without any opposition, meeting with resistance there, were retired. He made use of the ardour of the citizens to seize upon St. Dennis, where 200 Switzers were in garrison. He took them sword in hand, and without any form of a siege, having himself got the first over the ditch; and he came back the next morning to Paris, having left at St. Dennis the regiment of Conti, if I am not mistaken, to guard that place. But what he had done proved fruitless; for Remeville, or St. Megrin, I don't remember precisely which, retook it two days after with all manner of facility, the inhabitants having declared for the king. La Lande, who commanded there for the prince, made a pretty great resistance in the vaults of the church belonging to the abbey, which he defended for two or three days.

There was a great commotion at the parliament upon the 14th. Many confused voices were heard, demanding that the company should deliberate upon finding out means for preventing the insolences and the seditions that happened daily in the town, and even in the parliament-hall. The duke, who was informed of it, and who was afraid that under that pretence the Mazarinians of the parliament would oblige the company to take some steps contrary to his interest, came to the parliament pretty unexpectedly, and he proposed that the company should give him a full power. This proposal, which was inspired to the duke by Mr. de Beaufort, in a heat, without any view, and upon very slight grounds, produced three ill effects; the first of which was, that the whole company was persuaded that it was done upon mature deliberation: the second, that it lessened the duke very much, his birth and his post, considering the conjunctures, having no need of a borrowed authority: and the third, that the presidents took so much courage at it, that they durst tell the duke to his face, that none were ignorant of the respect they owed him, and that for that reason they thought it proper to forbear to insert his proposal in their registers. Nothing is so dangerous as proposals that appear mysterious, and are not so; because they raise all the envy which mysterious things never fail to do, and that they are even an obstacle to the advantages which it is supposed they will bring.

The duke, upon the 15th, had a sad experience of that truth, for he had the vexation to see a printer summoned to appear before the chambers, for publishing a pamphlet, wherein it was said that the parliament had resigned all their authority, and that of the whole city, into the hands of the duke.

duke. He told me that evening, swearing, that he no longer wondered that Mr. de Meyenne, during the League, was not able to bear the impertinencies of that company, adding even to that expression another still more licentious. I answered him something which I have forgot, but I remember that he smiled at it, and set it down in his table-book, saying to me, I will paraphrase it to the prince.

Upon the 16th, the president de Nesmond made his report about the remonstrances, which the king had ordered, after some difficulties, to be read in the presence of the deputies, to whom he said that he should order an answer in writing to be made to them in two or three days. After the president de Nesmond had spoke, the attorney-general gave an account of his deputation, saying, that having demanded that the troops should retire ten leagues off of Paris, and having explained the declaration which the princes had made for causing likewise those they had at the bridge of St. Cloud, and at Neuilly, to retire, the king had named on his side the mareschal Hopital, and had sent a pass with a blank to insert the name of the gentleman that should be sent by the duke, to confer together with the mareschal of the means of proceeding to that removal. He added, that the count de Bethune, who had been chosen by the duke to that effect, had conferred with messieurs de Bullion, de Villeroi, and le Tellier, and that his majesty, out of regard for his good city of Paris, yielded to grant that removal, provided that the princes should execute on their side what they were engaged to on the same account. The attorney-general, who was assisted by Mr. Bignon, advocate-general, presented afterwards to the company a writing, signed by the king, and counter-signed by a secretary of state, importing that his majesty would, without delay, send for two presidents and two counsellors, out of each chamber, to inform them of his will in respect to the remonstrances. Upon this the parliament ordered new ones to be made, in which the cardinal's name should be mentioned with still a greater aggravation.

Nothing considerable passed in the assemblies of the chambers of the twenty-fourth and twenty-eighth of May.

Upon the twenty-ninth, the deputies of the inquests came into the grand chamber, demanding an assembly of the chambers to deliberate about the means of raising the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand livres, promised to the man that should bring the cardinal dead or alive. Just at that time,

time, the vicar-general to the archbishop coming into the bar of the king's counsel, to confer about the exposing the shrine of Sainte Genevieve, le clerk de Courcelles said wittily enough on that occasion, ' We are this day ordering a double holy-day; a solemn procession of our patroness's shrine, and the assassination of a cardinal.' It is time to speak of the siege of Estampes.

You have seen that it was agreed on both sides that the troops should be removed ten leagues off of Paris. Mr. de Turenne, who some time before had used those of the princes pretty roughly at the suburbs of Estampes, where the regiments of foot of Burgundy, and of horse of Wirtemberg and of Brow, had suffered very much, resolved upon crushing of them altogether in the town itself; and the weakness of the place, as well as that of the generals, made him believe that the thing was not impracticable. The count de Tavannes, who commanded there for the prince, (messieurs de Beaufort and de Nemours being at Paris) made one of the finest and most vigorous defences that has been seen in our days. There was much blood shed on both sides. The Chevaliers de la Vieuville and de Parabere were wounded there. The attacks were frequent and vigorous, and the defence was answerable. The small number had at last yielded to the stronger, if the duke of * Lorraine had not come very a-propos to oblige Mr. de Turenne to raise the siege. This march of Mr. de Lorraine's deserves to be explained to you.

The Spaniards had been for a pretty long time pressing of him to enter into France for the assisting the princes. The duke and dutchess of Orleans had been earnestly soliciting of him to the like effect. His answer to the Spaniards was, demanding money of them; and to the duke and dutchess of Orleans was, his demanding the towns of Jametz, Clermont, and Stenay, which had formerly belonged to him, and which the king had since given the prince of Condé. The duke forced me one day to dictate to Fromont an instruction for le Grand, whom he was sending to Brussels, in order to persuade the duke of Lorraine; and I may sincerely say, that it is the only thing of that nature that I did during the whole course of that war. I was continually telling the duke, that I would preserve the satisfaction of being able to think inwardly, that I had nothing to do in an affair where every

* Charles the fourth, duke of Lorraine.

thing went 'a la peggio;' * and I had almost used him even to cease to ask my opinion upon what passed, by answering him always with monosyllables. He was one day chiding me for it, when I added, 'Tis true, sir, and that monosyllable is always the same, always No.' I could not observe the same conduct in respect to the duke of Lorraine's march; for the duke of Orleans desired absolutely, and the dutchess still more than he, that I should draw up the instruction which I have just now mentioned. I don't know whether it found the duke of Lorraine already inclined that way, but he marched with his army, which was composed of eight thousand men, all veterans and good soldiers. He left them at Ligni, and came himself to Paris, entering the city on horseback, with an incredible applause of the people. The duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé went to meet him on the last of May, as far as Bourget, and were accompanied by messieurs de Beaufort, de Nemours, de Rohan, de Sully, de la Rochefoucault, de Gaucourt, de Chavigny, and Don Gabriel de Toledo. It happened by chance that these two last marched a-breast in the entry. The duke, who hated Chavigny, told it me in the evening, transported with joy at it; and my answer was, that I wondered what could occasion his surprize; that Mr. de Chavigny did no more than what the president Jeanning, who had been one of the ablest ministers of Henry IV. had formerly done; that the only difference was, that the president Jeanning had squadroneered with the Spaniards before he was a minister, and Mr. de Chavigny did it not till after he had been one. The duke was very well pleased with the apology, which he got to be writ down, and had several copies of it maliciously dispersed up and down, in a manner that I found one upon his stair-case, and another at the Cours a quarter of an hour after. I kept myself very reserved in respect to the duke of Lorraine; and though he was brother to the dutchess of Orleans, to whom I was very particularly attached, all I did was to send a gentleman to assure him of my services. The duke of Orleans desired that I should see him, in which there was some difficulty, the dukes of Lorraine pretending to take the upper hand of cardinals they go to visit. We met at the dutchess of Orleans's, and afterwards in the duke's gallery, where there is no rank observed, and where, besides, supposing there had been any, no difficulty had arose, because he did not dispute me the rank

* *At random.*

rank in a third place. This conference was wholly spent in civilities and in railleries, in which he was inexhaustible. He took a fancy, two or three days after, to see me at the novices house at the Jesuits, where I met him at the dutchess of Orleans's desire. I began by telling him, that I was very sorry that the Roman ceremonial had not given me leave to pay him my respects at his house, as I should have wished; and he immediately repaid me in the same coin, by saying, that he was sorry at heart that the ceremonial of the empire should have hindered his waiting on me at my house, and his using me as he could have wished. He asked me afterwards without any preamble, whether I thought his nose so proper to be fillipped? and then going on, he railed at the archduke, and at the duke and dutchess of Orleans, who made him receive a dozen fillips on the nose every day, by obliging him to come and succour the prince of Condé, who detained what belonged to him. From this he entered into a detail of proposals and overtures, of which I protest I understood not one word. I thought that my best way was to answer him by a discourse, which, I can assure you, he could make but little of. He has remembered this as long as he lived; and when he returned into Lorraine, the first compliment he sent me, by the Abbot de St. Michael, was, that he did not doubt but that we should for the future understand one another better than we had done at the Jesuits at Paris. To tell you the truth, I had been to blame, if I had spoke more clearly than he, being so well informed of what was passing every where in respect to him. I had sure notice that the court offered him in a manner *carte-blanche*; and I was not ignorant, that though he might fill it almost as he pleased, he gave ear however to much lesser proposals.

Madam de Chevreuse, who had not left Paris at that time, told him, rather in jest than seriously, that he might perform the gallantest action in the world, by obliging Mr. de Turenne to raise the siege of Estampes, which would fully satisfy both the duke and the Spaniards; and by returning immediately after with his army into Flanders, which would to the last degree please the queen, whose particular servant he had all along professed himself to be. This proposal, which might please both sides, agreed very well with his wavering way. He resolved upon it without any more ado, and madam de Chevreuse valued herself for it at court, where they were not sorry to cover the necessity they were in of raising the siege of Estampes, with some appearance of a negotiation, which

which they magnified among the public, with a thousand particulars, that are always honoured by vulgar reasonings as so many mysteries. Nothing in the world however was less mysterious than what passed on these occasions; and though I was at that time not at all in the confidence either of madam or mademoiselle de Chevreuse, as you have already seen, I was well enough informed of it, against both their wills, to assure you of the certain truth of what I have said. The conduct which the duke of Lorraine followed, the next day after the siege was raised, was a sure mark that I was not deceived, or was at least a proof that he remained not long satisfied with himself in respect to that action. For though he spoke to the duke of the service he had done him in obliging the court to raise the siege of Estampes, in the highest terms, it appeared to me soon after, that he was ashamed of the treaty he had made, and that that was the reason that obliged him to grant the princes what they asked of him, which was to delay his marching away, and to stay at Villeneuve St. George, till the troops that marched out of Estampes were got into some safe place.

Mr. de Turenne finding that the duke of Lorraine did not keep the word he had given him to return into the Low Countries, marched to Corbeil, with a design to pass the Seine there, and to fight him. There were goings backward and forward about explaining what had been either promised or not promised, during which the troops of Lorraine entrenched themselves. Mr. de Turenne being advanced with the king's army, having passed the river Yerre, and having drawn up his army in battalia, in the presence of the Lorrainers, every body was expecting that both armies would have given the signal for a battle, which certainly had been bloody, considering the goodness of the troops on both sides, but which would probably have turned to the advantage of those of the king; because the Lorrainers wanted ground. At that critical instant, my lord Jermin came to Mr. de Turenne, acquainting him that the duke of Lorraine was ready to execute what had been agreed upon, on such and such terms. A negotiation was immediately entered into; and the king of England, who, upon the likelihood of a battle, had joined Mr. de Turenne, went himself backward and forward. It was agreed that Mr. de Lorraine should depart the kingdom in fifteen days, and remove from his post the very next day; that he should put into Mr. de Turenne's possession, the boats which had been sent him from Paris to make a bridge
over

over the river ; that Mr. du Turenne should make no use of these boats to pass the Seine, and stop the passage of the troops that were marched out of Estampes, that what troops belonging to the princes were in the prince of Condé's camp, might safely come into Paris ; and that provisions should be furnished by the king's order to the duke of Lorraine's troops during their retreat. These two last articles received not much opposition, Mr. de Turenne saying, that he was persuaded that the duke of Lorraine's army would save the king the trouble and expence of furnishing them with provisions, because they would take care to provide for themselves upon the road ; and as for the liberty that was asked for the troops of the princes to get safely into Paris, Mr. de Turenne granted it with joy, because he was sure that that would more alarm than encourage the city. Mr. de Beaufort who had brought to his camp five or six hundred volunteers from among the citizens, told the duke the next day in the evening, that they had been so much frightened, that he was troubled for fear they should alarm the whole city. The prince, who was sick at that time, was for that reason against their going out of the city at that conjuncture. I return to the parliament.

I have had so little share in the last assemblies of the chambers, and in the affairs I have last mentioned, that I have been for some time in doubt with myself whether I should insert them in a work that ought to be, properly speaking, but merely the account which you have commanded me to give you of my actions. It is certain that my promotion happened just at a time when the state of things, as I have been explaining to you before, had prevented my acting almost in any manner, though I had continued to assist at the deliberations of the parliament. I was now deprived by my dignity to sit and speak there, and as you have seen before, I spoke but little at the duke's palace. As for the movement I gave myself there, I can assure you very sincerely, that it was more imaginary than real, and such only as speculative men were pleased to fancy. But as they were pleased to fancy all manner of things upon my account, I was continually exposed to the distrust of some, to the apprehension of others, and to the reasonings of all. The part I acted, which was to keep unactive, or at most merely on the defensive, is always a dangerous part to act, and is not easy to be described, be-
cause

cause one can hardly do it without an appearance of vain-glory, and self-love. It looks as if one incorporated one's self with every thing considerable that happens in a state, when, in a work that ought to relate only to one's own person, a man dwells upon matters in which he has had no share. From that consideration I have looked out with care how to distinguish things of that nature, from others which really belong to these memoirs; but it has been impossible for me to do it, because the figure I have made (though but a middling one) in the times that went before and that followed these, in which I remained unactive, gives them such a relation and connection one with another, that it would be a hard task to set them before your eyes in a true light, if they were entirely distinguished. This obliges me to go on with what was passing at that time, in which I intend however to be as short as possible, because I never write upon other people's memoirs but with an extreme repugnance. I will only mention matters of fact, without any observations of my own, and only relate what appears the most weighty to me, passing by the most slight matters; and in what relates to the assemblies of the parliament, I shall take notice of the dates, in respect only to the most considerable deliberations. I shall forbear even mentioning the others, being persuaded that it is more than sufficient to tell you, that they were wholly employed in declamations against the cardinal, in complaints and in arrests against the insolencies and the seditions of the people, and in the prince's disowning these seditions, which for the most part were indeed but too natural an effect of the people's dispositions.

Upon the first of June the duke sent to the parliament to know what seat they would give the duke of Lorrain in the assemblies of the chambers. The company answered unanimously, That the duke of Lorrain being an enemy to the state, they could give him no seat at all there. The duke, who honoured me with a visit two or three days after, upon account of a defluxion I had in my eyes, said to me, ' Could you have believed that the parliament would have made me that answer ?' To which I replied, ' I could have much less believed, sir, that you would have run the hazard of asking them the question.' He replied in an angry tone, ' If I had not ventured it, the prince had said that I had been a Mazarinian.' This word discovers the principle of all the duke's actions at that time.

There

There was a great commotion at the parliament upon the seventh, on account of the approach of the troops of Lorraine, who were come on this side of Lagny, and who committed great disorders in Brie. This was spoken of in the parliament with the same surprize and horror, as if there had been no manner of divisions in the kingdom.

Upon the tenth, the president de Nesmond reported what had passed in the deputation sent to the king, who from the beginning of the siege of Estampes had advanced as far as Melun. His majesty's answer was, That the company might send whom they pleased to confer with those whom he should name, about re-establishing the public quiet. The company deliberated upon this, and they resolved to send the same deputies back to court to be better informed of the king's will, but to renew however the remonstrances against Mazarin. Both the duke and the prince had been against this resolution, maintaining that no proposals about a conference ought to be hearkened to, except the first article was actually and effectually for the removing the cardinal.

The complaints were renewed upon the fourteenth, against the approach of the troops of Lorraine, and were carried so far as to occasion the sending for the king's counsel, whose conclusions were, that the duke of Orleans should be desired to oblige them to retire. A counsellor, whose name I don't remember, having said, that he could not imagine how the retreat of those troops could be of service to the company, considering upon what terms they were with the court; Menardeau answered, That that reason obliging the company still the more to take off all manner of pretences that might be made use of for calumniating them with the king, his opinion was, that they should put out an arrest injoining the commons to fall upon them. A further deliberation upon this was however put off till the duke should be present. It is likely that you imagine that the duke of Lorraine's retreat, of which I have spoken, and which was known at Paris upon the sixteenth, made no great impression upon people's minds, having been so generally wished for. That impression was however incredible, and I observed that many of those who had highly exclaimed against his approach, were those that made the greatest noise against his retreat. It is not extraordinary that men should not know themselves: there are times where it may be said, that they have lost all feeling.

Upon the twentieth, the president de Nesmond reported what had passed in the deputation sent to the king at Melun,

and got his majesty's answer to be read to the company, the substance of which was ; That though his majesty could not be ignorant that the demand that was made about the removal of cardinal Mazarin, was no more than a pretence, he might perhaps be induced to grant a thing, which the cardinal himself was every day pressing him to, (after having repaired his honour by such declarations as his innocence required) if his majesty was assured that he might have good and substantial sureties on the part of the princes, for the execution of what they had offered in case of that removal : That his majesty desired therefore to know :

1. Whether in that case they will renounce all manner of leagues and associations made with foreign princes ?
2. Whether this will put an end to their pretensions ?
3. Whether they will attend on his majesty ?
4. Whether they will send back the foreigners that are in the kingdom ?
5. Whether they will disband their forces ?
6. Whether Bourdeaux will submit to its duty, as well as the prince of Conti, and madam de Longueville ?
7. Whether the places which the prince has fortified will be put into their first state ?

These are the chief of the twelve questions, on which the duke of Orleans spoke with a great deal of emotion, saying, That it was a thing unheard of, that a son of France, and a prince of the blood, should be brought in this manner upon the stool to be asked questions, as if the declaration they both of them had made of laying down their arms as soon as cardinal Mazarin should be out of the kingdom, was not more than sufficient to content the court, supposing that their intentions there were good. The company began to deliberate on this, but they could not make an end, and so the deliberation was put off till the next day.

The duke not being able to come to the parliament upon the 21st, by reason of a great fit of the cholic, which he had had in the night, nothing was debated there in the presence of the prince, but how to find out a fund for the subsistence of the poor, who suffered very much in the city, and about raising the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand livres, which was the price set upon the cardinal's head. It was proposed about this last article, to make with speed an inventory of what household goods were remaining, belonging to the cardinal. Mr. de Beaufort committed that day a blunder worthy of him.

him. There having been in the morning a great commotion in the palace-yard, which messieurs de Vanau and Partial would have been killed, if it had not been for him, he thought that the best way for diverting the mob from coming to the parliament, was to assemble them at the Place-Royale, where he gave them a rendezvous for the afternoon. He gathered there four or five thousand beggars, to whom he made a kind of sermon, in which indeed he had no other end than to exhort them to the obedience which they owed to the parliament. I was informed of all the particulars by persons whom I had sent thither on purpose, and who might be credited. Fear, which had already possessed most of the presidents and of the counsellors, made them believe that that assembly was intended only for their undoing. This fear redoubled at the speeches which they fancied that Mr. de Beaufort was making, and it became so great, that it was not in the power either of the duke, or of the prince to remove it, and to oblige them to go to the parliament. What happened that same day to the president de Maisons, in the street called de Tournon, did not serve to raise their courage. He was very near being killed by a multitude of people as he was coming out of the duke's palace, and it was with a great deal of difficulty that the prince and Mr. de Beaufort could save him. What happened on this occasion shewed that Mr. de Beaufort was not aware that the assembling the mob together is always the putting them in a commotion. It appeared by experience to be so, for two or three days after his fine sermon, the sedition grew stronger than it had yet been; and the president de Novion was even pursued in the street, and run the greatest risk possible.

On the 25th the princes declared in the assembly of the chambers, that as soon as the cardinal was out of the kingdom, they would faithfully execute all the articles which were asked of them in the king's answer, and would afterwards send deputies to conclude what should remain undone. Upon this the company gave out an arrest, ordering that the deputies of the parliament should incessantly return to court to carry the princes declaration to the king.

Not any of the presidents went to the parliament on the twenty-sixth.

On the twenty-seventh, the president de Novion went thither, and gave out a cutting arrest against seditious persons.

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The other sittings were spent in giving the necessary orders for the safety of the city, which occasioned no small trouble, those of the guards being themselves often enough the authors of the seditions. It is time to return to the war affairs.

The prince, who had had some fits of a tertian ague, went as far as Linard to meet his troops, which were coming from Estampes; and as the court had in no manner of way observed what had been promised there, in respect of their removing theirs from the neighbourhood of Paris, he thought not himself obliged to remove his, which made him post his small army at St. Cloud, a considerable post, because of the bridge, by means of which he might, in case of need, remove it wherever he pleased.

Mr. de Turenne, who was with the king's army about St. Dennis, whither his majesty was likewise come in person to be nearer Paris; Mr. de Turenne, I say, built a bridge of boats at Epinal, with an intent to come and attack the enemy before they had time to retire. Mr. de Favannes had notice given him of it, and sent the like to the prince, who came to his camp with all diligence. He marched off in the evening and came towards Paris, intending to arrive at Charenton by break of day, to pass there the Marne, and take a post from whence he might not be dislodged. But Mr. de Turenne gave him not time to do it, for he attacked his rear-guard in the suburb of St. Dennis. The prince lost there but a few men of the regiment of Conti, and he sent the duke of Orleans word by the count de Fiesque, that he might rely upon his reaching the suburb of St. Anthony, in which he should, he said, have more room to defend himself. It is on this occasion, more than on any other, that I am sorry that the prince has not given me, as he had promised, an account of his actions. What he did that day was one of the finest of his whole life. I have heard from Laigues, who understood war affairs, and was with him all that day, though he was more discontented at him than all the world besides, that he shewed something in this occasion beyond human valour, and human capacity. I should be inexcusable if I undertook to give you the detail of the greatest and most heroic action in the world, from the memoirs that were published, which I have heard officers speak of with contempt. I shall only tell you, that after the most bloody and obstinate fight in the world, he saved his troops, which were but a handful of men, though attacked by Mr. de Turenne, reinforced by the army
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of the marechal de la Ferté. He lost there the count de Bossu, a Fleming, la Roche Giffart, Flammarin, and de Hacquest, of the house of Montmorency. Messieurs de la Rochefoucaut, de Tavannes, de Cogny, the viscount de Melun, and the chevalier de Fort were wounded there. On the king's side, Esclainvillier was wounded, and messieurs de St. Megrin and Mancini were killed. I cannot express to you the duke's agitation all the time the fight lasted. All possible events filled up his thoughts for a while, and were succeeded, as is usual in such cases, by a view of all impossible events. Jouy, whom he sent seven times to me in less than three hours, told me that there were moments in which he was afraid that the city would revolt against him; and others, wherein he feared that it would declare too much for the prince. He sent persons unknown to see what was doing at my house, and nothing encouraged him thoroughly, but the hearing that I had only my Switzer to guard my door. This I was told by Bruneau the next day, who concluded from it, that there was no great danger since I was no better guarded against it. Mademoiselle, who had done her utmost with the duke to oblige him to go into the street called St. Anthony, to cause the gate to be opened to the prince, who began to be extremely pressed in the suburb, took the resolution to go thither herself. She went into the Bastille, the entrance of which, Louviere, * out of respect, durst not refuse her. She caused the cannon to be fired upon the troops of the marechal de la Ferté, which were advancing with a design to take in flank those of the prince. She afterwards harangued the guard that was at the gate of St. Anthony, which was opened to the prince, who entered the city with his army, of which the soldiers, though much disabled, appeared covered with more glory still than wounds. This famous fight happened upon the second of July.

A general assembly at the town-house, which had been ordered on the first of July by the parliament, to advise about what was to be done for the safety of the city, was held there upon the fourth in the afternoon. Both the duke and the prince assisted there, upon pretence of thanking the city for giving entrance to their troops the day that the fight happened; but in reality, to engage the assembly to unite still more strictly with them. This was at least what the duke was made to believe; but there was another design, which I heard

* Son to Broussel, and governor of the Bastille.

heard not of till four or five years after, when the prince himself discovered it to me at Brussels. I do not precisely remember whether he confirmed to me a report very current among the public, of an advice given him by Mr. de Bouillon, that the court would never think of a real accommodation with him, till they were convinced there that he was in effect master of Paris. I know that I enquired of him about the truth of that report, but I cannot recall to my memory what his answer was. This is what he discovered to me about his design. He was persuaded that I did him great disservices with the duke, in which, as you have seen before, he was mistaken. But he was likewise persuaded that I did him a great deal of prejudice in the city, in which he was in the right. I have acquainted you with the reasons I had for acting so, in respect to him. The prince had observed that I stood in no manner upon my guard, and that I made use, even with affectation, of the pretence of marching incognito, to which the ceremonial obliged me, to shew the confidence and the trust which I reposed in the people's good-will, in the midst of the greatest commotions. He resolved very prudently to make use of that confidence of mine, to execute one of the wisest and finest actions that had perhaps been imagined during that whole age. His design was to stir the people upon the morning of the day that the assembly was to be held at the town-house; to come directly to my house about ten in the morning, which was known to be just the hour that I had least company with me, because it was the time I commonly employed about my studies; to carry me away civilly in my coach out of the city; and to forbid me at the gate, in due form, to come into it again. I am conscious to myself that the game was sure, and that in the condition things were in, the same persons that had taken up arms for my defence, if they had had time to consider on it, had approved the thing after its execution; it being certain that in revolutions that are great enough to keep the multitude in suspense, those that get the start are always applauded, provided they succeed at first. I stood upon no manner of defence. The prince might have made himself master of the cloyster without striking a blow; and I might have been carried to one of the city gates, before any alarm strong enough had been given to oppose it. Nothing could have been better imagined. The duke, who would have been struck down with the thing, had applauded it. The assembly at the town-house, whom the prince would have informed of it upon the spot, had trembled

trembled at it. The prince's civil manner of doing it had been both praised and admired. I had suffered by it a great loss of reputation, for keeping in a condition so defenceless, and I must have confessed myself to have been guilty of a great deal of temerity and of imprudence, not to have foreseen a thing so feasible. Fortune turned that fine design against the prince, and rendered it, by the event, as fatal as the blackest of all enterprizes could have been.

The commotion being begun towards the Place-Dauphine, by forcing those that went by to put straw in their hats, Mr. de Cumont, a counsellor of the parliament, and a particular servant of the prince's, who had been obliged to do as the rest, went in great haste to give notice of this to the duke, and to intreat him to prevent the prince, who was in the gallery, from going out whilst that commotion lasted, which Cumont supposed, as he told the duke, to have been raised either by the Mazarinians, or by the cardinal de Retz, for destroying the prince. At this the duke ran after his highness, who was going down the privy-stairs, and who had his coach ready to come to my house and execute his design. The duke made use of his authority, and even of violence to keep him from going. He made him dine with him, and carried him afterwards to the town-house, where the assembly was to be held. They staid there only to return their thanks to the company, and to represent the necessity there was of finding out means to defend themselves against Mazarin, after which they came away. The sight of a trumpeter, who arrived just at that time from the king, with an order for the assembly to be put off for a week, provoked the people who were in the Greve, crying incessantly, that the city ought to unite with the princes. Some officers, whom the prince had interspersed in the morning with the mob, not having received the orders they expected, were not able to stop their fury. The first object it discharged itself upon, was the town-house. They shot at the windows; they set fire to the doors; they entered in, sword in hand. They massacred Mr. le Gras, a master of requests, and Mr. Miron, a master in the chamber of accounts, and one of the most honest men, and of the best credit with the people, that was in Paris. There were, besides, twenty-five or thirty citizens that perished in this occasion, and the marsechal de l'Hopital escaped the danger but by a miracle, and by the help of the president Barentin. A young man of Paris, named Noblet, of whom I have already spoken, in relating the encounter I had with Mr. de la Rochefoucault

Rochefoucault at the parliament, had likewise the good luck to be serviceable to the mareschal on this occasion. You may easily imagine what effect the town-house set on fire, and the blood shed, produced in Paris. The consternation was at first general there; all the shops were shut up in an instant. Things remained for a while in that state, and it was about six in the afternoon before the citizens awaked and came to themselves in some places, where they set up barricadoes to stop the seditious, who dispersed almost of themselves. Mademoiselle contributed however to it. She went herself, accompanied by Mr. de Beaufort, to the Greve, where she found some of them left, whom she drove away. These wretches shewed more respect to her than to the host, which the curate of St. John's presented to them, to oblige them to extinguish the fire which they had set to the town-house doors.

The bishop of Châlons came to my house in the height of this commotion, the fear he had for my person being stronger than that he shewed for his own in a conjuncture where nobody without exception could reckon themselves safe in walking the streets. He found me so little precautioned against the danger, that he made me ashamed of it, and I cannot conceive even at this time what could oblige me to be so careless on an occasion in which I had, or at least might have, so great a need to look to myself. This has persuaded me, as much as any other thing in the world, that men are often valued for actions, which they ought the most to be blamed for. The public praised my firmness, when it ought to have blamed my imprudence. This last was real, the other was only imaginary. The truth is, that I had made no manner of reflection upon the danger which I began to be sensible of as soon as I was made to perceive it. Mr. de Caumartin sent at that instant to his house for a thousand pistoles, with which I made some soldiers, for he found me without money. I joined them to some reformed officers which I had always preserved out of my lord Montrose's remains. The marquis de Sabliere, colonel of the regiment of Valois, furnished me with a hundred of his best soldiers, commanded by two captains of his regiment that were domestics of mine. Querieux brought me thirty gens-d'armes out of the company which he commanded, and Buffy Lamet forty chosen men out of the garrison of Mezieres. I furnished all my house and all the towers of Nôtre-Dame with granadoes. I took some measures, in case of an attack, with those of the Ponts of Nôtre-Dame,

Dame, and of St. Michael, who were mighty well affected to me. In fine, I put myself in a condition to dispute the ground, and to be no more exposed to any insults.

This conduct appeared wiser than the blind security in which I had been for some time. And yet it was not so in effect, compared at least with that which I should have followed, had I been capable of minding only my own interest, by taking hold of the opportunity which fortune presented me with. There was nothing more natural, both in respect to my profession, and to the condition I was in, than to leave Paris, after a commotion which threw the public hatred upon a party that appeared at that time the most opposite to me. I had not lost by it those that were my friends among the Frondeurs, because they had looked upon my retreat as upon a resolution to which I was brought by necessity. I should insensibly have reconciled myself with those that were lovers of peace, who could hardly have refused to take my part, because they had looked on me as on one that was exiled for a cause which they had themselves espoused. The duke could not have complained of me for abandoning a place in which it appeared he was no longer master. Cardinal Mazarin had himself been obliged in that case, both in respect to decency and to interest, to preserve measures with me; and it was even naturally impossible but that the court's animosity against me must have diminished considerably, by a conduct that would have much contributed to blacken that of its enemies. My retreat might have been attended with circumstances which would have easily prevented my sharing the public hatred that was borne against Mazarin. In order to that, my business would have only been to retire into the country of Retz, without going to court; and that had even cleared me from the suspicion of Mazarinianism for the time past. In that manner I had got off from the daily trouble in which I was, and from that which I foresaw for the future, without seeing in what other manner I could ever be able to disentangle myself from it. In that manner I had patiently expected what it had pleased Providence to order in relation to the fate of the two parties, without running any of the risks which I was at every instant exposed to from both sides. In that manner I had appropriated to myself the love of the public, which the horror that is conceived against any violent action, never fails to bestow upon him that suffers. In that manner I had found myself, at the end of the troubles, a cardinal, and archbishop
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of Paris, driven away from his see by the party that had publicly joined with the Spaniards, cleared of the faction by my retreat from Paris, and cleared of Mazarinianism by my retreat from court; and the very worst that could have happened to me from this, was to have been sacrificed by the two parties, in case of a reconciliation and an union against me, and to have been sent as ambassador to Rome, which employment they would have been glad at heart to make me accept of, even upon my own terms, and which to a cardinal, archbishop of Paris, can never be a burthen, because there are a thousand occasions in which he may always find room to leave it. I had all these views in my thoughts, greater still, and more extensive than I have set them down here. I stood in no manner of doubt but that they were right and good. And yet I resolved, without hesitating in the least, not to follow them. The interest of my friends, who fancied that I might at last find in the chapter of accidents room to serve and to prefer them, made me immediately consider that they would complain of me if I followed a way that got me out of trouble, and left them in it. I have never repented my shewing a greater regard for their interests than for my own. This conduct was indeed supported by my pride, that could hardly have suffered that the public should have thought that I had yielded meanly to the prince. I reproach myself with these sentiments, which were however of great weight with me at that time. They were both imprudent and weak; for I affirm that there is as much weakness as imprudence in sacrificing a great and solid interest, to punctilios of glory which is always a vain-glory, when it hinders us from doing things greater than those it proposes. We must own ingenuously that nothing but experience can teach men not to prefer what tickles them for the present, to what would afterwards afford them a much more real pleasure: I have made that observation an infinite number of times. I return to the parliament.

I will acquaint you in few words with what passed there from the fourth to the thirteenth of July. It had indeed but a very melancholy aspect, all the presidents à Mortier and a great many counsellors having absented themselves for fear of the seditions, which the fire and the massacre at the town-house had not diminished. This solitude obliged those that assisted there to put out an arrest, forbidding that any one should forsake his post, to which arrest little obedience was paid. The assemblies at the town-house were, for the same reason, like-
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wife very thin. The *prevost-des-marchands*, who had saved his life merely by a miracle, the day of the massacre, had ceased to assist there. The *mareschal de l'Hopital* kept close and private at home. The duke of Orleans, in a very thin assembly, got chosen in their room, Mr. de Beaufort for governor of Paris, and Mr. Broussel for *prevost-des-marchands*. The parliament ordered their deputies, who were at St. Dennis, to press the court for an answer; and in case they could obtain none, to come back to their seats in parliament in three days time.

Upon the thirteenth the deputies wrote a letter to the company, to whom they sent the king's answer in writing. It contained in substance: That although his majesty had room enough to believe that the instances made for the removal of cardinal Mazarin were nothing else but pretences, he was willing to give the cardinal leave to retire from court, after the necessary things for the establishing the public quiet had been settled, both with the deputies of the parliament, as likewise with those whom the princes would be pleased to send. The duke, as well as the prince, who had found out that the cardinal never proposed any conferences, but with a design to discredit them with the public, exclaimed at this proposal; the duke saying warmly, that it was only a trap laid for them, because neither he nor the prince had any need to send deputies in their own names, confiding altogether, as they did, in those which the parliament had sent. The arrest that was given upon this was conformable to the duke's speech; and it ordered their deputies to continue their instances for the removal of the cardinal. The princess wrote likewise to the president de Nesmond to assure him that they would continue firm to their resolutions of laying down their arms as soon as the cardinal should be effectually removed.

Upon the seventeenth the deputies sent word to the parliament that the king had left St. Dennis to go to Pontoise; that he had commanded them to follow him, but that upon their making a difficulty of it, he had ordered them to remain at St. Dennis.

Upon the eighteenth they acquainted the company that they had received a new order from his majesty, commanding them to go to Pontoise. The company grew very warm at this, and gave out an arrest whereby it was ordered that their deputies should return incessantly to Paris. The duke of Orleans, the prince of Condé, and Mr. de Beaufort, went out themselves with twelve hundred horse to fetch them back,
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to shew the people the great danger they rescued them from.

The court were not idle on their side. The privy-council there was every day issuing out arrests that annulled those of the parliament. They declared null and void, all that had been done, that was doing, and that should be afterwards done, in the assemblies at the town-house; and they even ordered that the money appropriated for the payment of the town-house rents, should, for the future, be brought only to the places where his majesty should reside.

The president de Nesmond reported to the company upon the nineteenth what he and the other deputies had done at court. This report, which was filled up with objections and answers, contained, in effect, no more than what you have seen before, except an article of a letter writ by Mr. Servien to the deputies, importing, that in case that the duke and the prince continued to make a difficulty of sending deputies in their own name, his majesty consented that they should trust those of the parliament with their intentions. There were assurances in that same letter, that the king should remove the cardinal from his councils, as soon as the articles that might be disputed in the conference should be agreed upon, and that he would not even stay to do it till they were executed. The company began a deliberation upon this, which was not ended till the twentieth. It was then declared that the king being detained a prisoner by cardinal Mazarin, the duke of Orleans should be desired to take upon him the quality of lieutenant-general to his majesty, and that the prince of Condé should be invited to take in hand the command of the armies for so long as the cardinal should remain in France; that a copy of this arrest should be sent to all the parliaments in the kingdom, who should be desired to give one in conformity to it. The other parliaments had no regard to that prayer, for excepting that of Bourdeaux, there was not one that did so much as put the matter into deliberation: contrary to it, that of Brittany had suspended all the arrests they had before put out, till the Spanish troops that were entered into France had entirely evacuated the kingdom. The duke was not better hearkened to in respect to the letters he writ to all the governors of provinces about his new dignity; and he plainly owned to me some time after, that not one of them, excepting Mr. de Sourdis, had answered his letters. The court had given them notice of their duty by a public arrest given by the upper council, annulling that of the parliament which invested

invested the duke with his new dignity. His authority in respect to it was not so much as established in Paris, at least in the manner it ought to have been; for two wretches having been condemned to be hanged on the twenty-third for setting fire to the Town-house, the companies of trained-bands that were ordered to see the thing done, refused to obey.

A general assembly was ordered to be held at the Town-house upon the twenty-fourth, to advise about the means of finding money for the subsistence of the troops, and of selling the statues that were at the cardinal's palace, for a sum to pay the price set upon the cardinal's head.

Upon the twenty-sixth the duke said in the assembly of the chambers, that his new dignity of lieutenant-general requiring that he should have a council to advise with, he desired that company to name two of their own body to be of that board, and that they would likewise tell him whether they did not approve that he should desire the chancellor to assist there. The company agreed to it; and even Mr. Bignon, advocate-general, and the Cato of his age, did not oppose it: for he said in his conclusions, which were admired for their strength and eloquence, that the parliament had not given the duke the quality of lieutenant-general; but that he might take it of himself in the present conjuncture, as belonging to him by right of his birth, which naturally established him the first magistrate of the kingdom. In proof of this he mentioned Henry the Great, who being first prince of the blood, had taken that quality upon him in a discourse he made in the time of the troubles.

The council for the duke was settled on the twenty-seventh, and was composed of the duke himself, of the prince of Condé, of messieurs de Beaufort, de Nemours, de Sully, de Brissac, de la Rochefoucault, and de Rohan; of the presidents de Nesmond and de Longueil; of Aubri and l'Archer, presidents in the chamber of accounts, and of Dorieux and le Noir, presidents in the court of aids.

It was resolved on the twenty-ninth at the Town-house assembly, to raise eight hundred thousand livres for increasing the troops of his royal highness, and to write to all the great cities of the kingdom to exhort them to unite with the capital. The king failed not to annul, by arrests of his privy-council, all those of the parliament, and all the deliberations at the Town-house assembly.

I think

I think I have acquitted myself exactly of my promise of troubling you but little with my reflections upon all that passed in the time I have spoken of, and which I have rather touched upon than described. It is not, as you will easily judge, for want of matter, and it is hardly possible to find any, that better deserves to be reflected upon, and that would furnish more reflections. The events are in themselves odd, and uncommon; but as I was not an actor in them, and that I was even but a remote spectator, I fear that if I should enter too far into the detail, I might with my views mix likewise my conjectures; and I have so many times experienced that those that appear the best grounded, are often false, that I think them for that reason unworthy of a history, and chiefly of one which is writ for a person to whom I ought upon so many accounts to say nothing but what is entirely and incontestably true. I will however venture two reflections, which I take to be altogether of that kind.

The one is, that though I cannot explain in particular to you the several springs that gave motion to what you have seen lately acted, because I had no hand in it; I can assure you that the only one that caused the duke to act so pitifully, was his being persuaded, that every thing running at random as it did, the only way was always to follow the stream: and that the only reason which obliged the prince to act as he did, was his aversion to a civil war, which fomented and even renewed at every instant, in the most secret recesses of his heart, the hopes he had of putting quickly an end to it by way of negotiation. You must observe that these movements in the princes had never any intermission; and though I have already mentioned them in particular as the causes of several of their actions which I have explained, I think it is in some measure necessary to mention them again in general, in the course of a narration that presents you at each instant with incidents of which you would without doubt be willing to know the reasons, which I am forced to omit because I know nothing of the particulars.

I have already told you that I had tired the duke out with my monosyllables, which I made use of designedly, and which I left off merely on account of his new dignity of lieutenant-general to the king. I opposed it with all my power, because he forced me to give him my opinion about it. I treated it as an odious, a pernicious, and an useless thing, and I explained myself upon it in so clear and plain a manner, as to tell him that I should be extremely sorry that all the world

world should not be apprized of my sentiments in that respect, and that any body should believe that those of the parliament over whom I had any power, should be capable of giving their vote for it. I was in that as good as my word, and even Mr. de Caumartin signalized himself in opposing it. I thought myself obliged to follow that conduct, in respect to the king, to the kingdom, and even to the duke himself. I was convinced, as I am still, that the same reasons which allow in some cases a dispensation from a rigid obedience, will ever disallow the usurpation of a title, which in respect to royal authority is a thing most essential. To tell you the truth, I acted in this manner because I found myself in a condition to maintain, not only my words, but likewise my steps. The posture in which I had kept myself since what had happened at the Town-house, had seized upon the imagination of people, and had made them believe that I was much stronger than I was in reality. Such a belief is enough to increase one's strength. I had experienced it, and had found the advantage of using it, as well as of the other means which I met with in abundance in the disposition in which Paris was. That city was every day growing more and more exasperated at the party of the princes, by reason of the taxes with which it was threatened, of the massacre of the Town-house which had filled all people's minds with horror, and of the pillage made by the troops, which since the fight at the suburbs of St. Anthony were incamped in the suburbs of St. Victor, where they committed disorders hardly credible. I made use of all those outrages, which I took care to represent in a manner that rendered me very agreeable to all that blamed them; and in that manner I was bringing again over to me all the lovers of peace that were not professedly attached to the cardinal. In following that way my success was such, that I found myself in a condition to dispute the ground with every body, and that after having kept three weeks at my house on the defensive, in the cautious manner which I have mentioned, I came out of it with a mighty pomp, notwithstanding the Romish ceremonial. I went every day to the duke's palace, and I passed in the midst of the troops which the prince had in the suburb, not doubting but that I might confide enough in the people to use that conduct safely, in which the event at least shewed that I was not mistaken. I return to the parliament.

Upon the sixth of August, Buchisfert, substitute to the attorney-general, brought to the assembly of the chambers

two letters of the king, one directed to the company, and the other to the president de Nesmond, with a declaration from his majesty, importing the translation of the parliament to Pontoise. They had taken that resolution at court after they had found that their stay at St. Dennis had not prevented the parliament nor the Town-house from taking the steps which you have seen. This news put the chambers into a mighty commotion. The company went on to deliberate, and it was resolved that the letters and the declaration should be kept at the Rolls, to be duly considered after the cardinal should be removed out of France. The parliament of Pontoise, which consisted of fourteen persons, at the head of which were, the presidents Molé, Novion, and le Coigneux, who some time before were got out of Paris in disguise, made remonstrances to the king, tending to the removal of cardinal Mazarin. His majesty granted their demands at the instance even of that good and disinterested minister, who in effect left the court and retired to Bouillon. This farce, very unworthy of the royal majesty, was accompanied with every thing that might render it still more ridiculous. The two parliaments of Paris and of Pontoise put out arrests in which they thundered at one another.

Upon the thirteenth of August, that of Paris ordered that those that should assist at the assembly at Pontoise should be razed out of their list and register.

Upon the seventeenth that of Pontoise verified the king's declaration, enjoining to the parliament, to the chamber of accounts, and to the court of aids, that considering the removal of cardinal Mazarin, they should declare their readiness of laying down their arms, provided his majesty was pleased to grant an amnesty, to remove his troops from the neighbourhood of Paris to cause those which were in Guienne to retire, to let the Spanish troops retire in safety, and to give the princes leave to send to his majesty about adjusting what matters remained yet unsettled. That parliament gave afterwards an arrest whereby they ordered to return thanks to his majesty for removing the cardinal, and to intreat him most humbly to return to his good city of Paris.

Upon the twenty-sixth the king caused the parliament at Pontoise to verify the amnesty which he gave to those that had taken up arms against him, but with such restrictions that but few persons could find their safety in it.

Upon

Upon the twenty-ninth and thirty-first of August, and upon the second of September, nothing hardly was spoken of in the assembly of the chambers at Paris, but of the refusal which the court had made to the princes of the passes which they had asked for the mareschal d'Estampes, the count de Fiesque, and Goulas; and of the king's answer to a letter of the duke of Orleans to his majesty. The substance of that answer was: That his majesty wondered that the duke had not considered that after the removal of cardinal Mazarin, he had nothing else to do, according to his promise and to his declaration, than to lay down his arms, to renounce all manner of associations and treaties, and to cause the foreign troops to retire: after which, those that he should send him should be very welcome.

Upon the second of September that answer of the king's was examined, but the company had not time to finish their deliberation. All that they resolved upon, was, that both the civil and criminal judges of the city of Paris should be forbidden to publish any declaration from the king, without the parliament's order. The company came to that resolution upon notice given them that these two judges had received the king's command to publish and set up in the city, the amnesty that had been verified at Pontoise.

Upon the third, the company finished their deliberation upon the king's answer to the duke of Orleans's letter. It was agreed that the company should send deputies to the king, to return him thanks for the removal of cardinal Mazarin, and to intreat him to return to his good city of Paris: that the duke of Orleans and the prince should be desired to write to the king, to assure his majesty that they would lay down their arms as soon as it had pleased him to send the necessary passes for the retreat of the foreign troops, and an amnesty in due form verified by all the parliaments of France: that his majesty should be entreated to receive the deputies of the princes; that the chamber of accounts and the court of aids of Paris, should be invited to send deputies: that a general assembly should be held at the town-house; and that letters should be writ to the president de Mesmes, who was likewise retired to Pontoise, desiring him to solicit for the passes.

Give me leave, I beseech you, to make a pause here, in order to consider with some attention the scandalous and continual illusion with which a minister makes a real jest of the sacred name and word of a great king; and with which, on

the other side, the most august parliament of the kingdom, the court of peers, are in a manner making fools of themselves, by acting perpetually in a contradictory manner, more like the levity of a college, than the majesty of a senate. I have sometimes told you that men have no feeling of themselves in these sort of fevers that agitate a state and have something of a phrensy in them. I knew at that time some honest persons that were persuaded of the justice of the princes cause, enough to have died for it, if it had been necessary. I knew others of a disinterested and consummate virtue, that would have laid down their lives with joy to have defended the cause of the court. The ambition of great men makes use of these dispositions as it suits with their interest. They are first a help to blind the rest of mankind, after which they blind themselves in a more dangerous manner than they have done others.

Old Mr. de Fontenay, who had been twice ambassador at Rome, who was a man of good sense and of experience, and whose intentions for the state were right and sincere, deplored every day with me the lethargy into which domestic divisions cause even the best citizens to fall.

As to our foreign war, the archduke retook that year Gravelines, and Dunkirk. Cromwell, without any declaration of war, and with an insolence injurious to our crown, took, under I do not know what pretext of reprisal, a great part of the king's ships. We lost Barcelona, all Catalonia, and Casal, the key of Italy. We saw Brissac under a revolt, upon the point of falling again into the hands of the House of Austria. We saw Spanish colours and standards displayed upon the Pont-neuf. The yellow scarves of Lorraine appeared in Paris with the same freedom, as the Isabel and blue ones. People were using themselves to these spectacles, and to the mournful news of so many losses. This habit which carried terrible consequences along with it, frightened me, and certainly much more for the state than for my person. Mr. de Fontenay, who was touched to the quick with it, and who was even moved to see me so much concerned, exhorted me to awake from my lethargy; 'in which, said he, 'you are yourself after your own mode. For in short, continued he, if you have no regard but to your own self, 'you have chosen the right way. But if you consider upon 'the condition of this capital city, to which you are attached 'upon so many accounts, do not you think yourself obliged 'to

' to bestir yourself more than you do? You are moved by
 ' no private interest, your intentions are good: must you, by
 ' remaining unactive, cause the state as much harm, as
 ' others do by their most irregular motions?' Mr. de Seve-
 chatignonville, whom you have seen since of the king's coun-
 cil, who was my very particular friend, and a gentleman of
 great probity, had been making me the like instances even
 with eagerness, for five or six weeks before. Mr. de La-
 moignon, who is now first president of the parliament of
 Paris, and who from his youth has had all the reputation
 which his great capacity, joined to a virtue nothing inferior
 to it, has justly deserved, was every day speaking to me af-
 ter the same manner. Mr. de Valencay, counsellor of state,
 who came not near the others in capacity, but who was, like
 them, colonel of his ward, came to me every Sunday morn-
 ing, whispering in my ear: ' Save the state, save the city; I
 ' do but wait for your orders.' Mr. de Roches, chanter of
 Nôtre-dame, who was colonel of the cloyster, a man of little
 sense, but whose intentions were good, came two or three
 times a week to shed tears with me on the same account.
 What touched me more sensibly than all the rest, was a dis-
 course of Mr. de Lamoignon's, whose good sense I valued
 as much as his probity. ' I see, sir,' (said he one day as he
 was walking with me in my chamber) ' that with the most
 ' upright intentions in the world you are falling from the love
 ' of the public into the public hatred. The minds of the
 ' people, which in the beginning were all for you, have for
 ' some time been divided. You have regained ground by
 ' your enemies faults: I see that you begin to lose it again.
 ' The Frondeurs believe that you support Mazarin, and the
 ' Mazarinians, that you support the Frondeurs. I know
 ' that this is not true, and I even judge that it cannot be
 ' true; but what makes me afraid for you, is, that it be-
 ' gins to be believed by a sort of persons, whose opinion al-
 ' ways forms in time the public reputation. These persons are
 ' those who are neither Frondeurs nor Mazarinians, and who
 ' have nothing but the good of the state in view. This sort
 ' of persons can do nothing in the beginning of the troubles;
 ' they can do all towards the end.' Nothing can be fuller of
 sense, as you see, than this discourse; but as there was no-
 thing in it altogether new to me, and that I had many
 times before made reflections that came at last very near it,
 it made not near so much impression on me, as what he
 added at last. ' These conjunctures, said he, are very odd.

‘ A wise man ought to extricate himself out of them, with
 ‘ all manner of haste, and even with loss, because let him
 ‘ govern himself never so wisely, he must, so long as he re-
 ‘ mains in that state, run the risk of losing all his honour. I
 ‘ doubt much whether the Connestable de St. Paul * was
 ‘ as guilty, and had as bad intentions, as we are told.’ These
 last words, which shewed a right and a profound sense, went
 the deeper in me, because Father Dom Carouges, a Carthu-
 sian, whom I had been to see the day before in his cell, had
 said to me, in relation to the conduct which I followed, ‘ It
 ‘ is so clear, it is so great, that all those who would not be
 ‘ capable of it in the post in which you are, fancy that there
 ‘ is a mystery in it: and in troublesome and unhappy times,
 ‘ all that passes for mysterious is odious.’ I will give you an
 account of the effect which all these discourses had upon my
 mind, after I have mentioned, as briefly as ever I can, some
 matters that deserve to be remembered.

I have already told you that the king, after having settled
 his parliament at Pontoise, was gone to Compiègne. He
 could not take along with him Mr. de Bouillon, who died
 about that time † of a continual fever; but he ordered the
 lord chancellor to come to him, that gentleman being got
 away from Paris in disguise, because he chose rather to be of
 the king’s council than of the duke’s, in which indeed he
 might, if he pleased, have found room enough not to have
 accepted a place. Nothing but his weakness can excuse a
 step of this nature, in a chancellor of France; but I am no
 less persuaded, that nothing but the weakness of the govern-
 ment under cardinal Mazarin, could have restored to the head
 of all the council-boards, and of all the courts of justice in
 the kingdom, a chancellor that had been capable of taking
 such a step. One of the greatest evils which the ministry of
 cardinal Mazarin has brought upon the kingdom, is his little
 care of preserving the dignity of that post. The contempt
 he shewed for it was attended with success, and that success is
 a greater evil even than the first, because it serves as a cover
 and a palliative to the inconveniencies which sooner or later
 will

* *Lewis de Luxemburgh, count de St. Paul, &c. was made
 connestable of France in the year 1456, by king Lewis XI.
 and was, by that king’s order, beheaded at Paris, on the 19th
 of December 1475.*

† *The duke de Bouillon died at Pontoise on the 9th of Au-
 gust 1652.*

will infallibly happen to the state, by reason of that contempt which is now turned into an habit.

It was with a pretty deal of difficulty that the queen, who was naturally haughty, could resolve upon recalling the chancellor. But she was forced to submit to the cardinal, who was the master, and to that degree, that when he took a fancy for Mr. de Bouillon, into whose hands he even intrusted the finances, he answered the queen, who advised him not to confide in such a sort of a man : ' It is pretty indeed, madam, to see that you take upon you to advise me.' I was informed of this particular three days after by Varennes, who had it from Mr. de Bouillon himself.

I ought not to omit here the death of Mr. de Nemours, who was killed in a duel by Mr. de Beaufort. You may remember what I have told you of their quarrel at Orleans, which was revived by their disputing who should have the precedency at the duke's council. Mr. de Nemours forced in a manner Mr. de Beaufort to fight : he was killed upon the spot by a pistol-shot in the head. Mr. de Villars, whom you know, was his second, and he killed Hericourt, Mr. de Beaufort's second, and lieutenant of his guards. I return to the duke of Orleans.

You easily judge that the disorders of Paris did not contribute to put his court in good order. The death of Mr. de Vallois, * which happened on St. Lawrence's day, filled that court with grief, which is always attended with consternation, at a time full of trouble and uncertainties. His royal highness was besides touched to the quick, by an advice which he received just at that time from madam de Choisy, of a negotiation of Mr. de Chavigny's with the court, of which I will by and by give you the particulars. This, added to the news which he received from all parts, and which was bad enough in relation to the party, put him in a greater agitation still than he was naturally. Persan had been obliged to surrender Mouron to Palluau, who was made a mareschal of France after that expedition. The count d'Harcourt had had almost all along the advantage in Guienne, and Bourdeaux itself was divided into so many foolish parties, that one could hardly rely upon it. Marigny used to say, pleasantly enough, that the princess of Condé and madam de Longueville, the prince of Conti and Marcin, the parliament, the jurats, and the army, Marigny and Sarrafin, had each of them their factions there. He had begun to write a satire, after the manner of that which was written in the time of the League,

upon

* Son to the duke of Orleans.

upon all that he had seen transacting there, which gave a very ridiculous idea of it. I am not enough acquainted with the particulars of that piece to bring it here as an entertainment for you. All that I can say about it is, that what the duke had heard of it, did not help to quiet his mind in the agitation he was in, nor to persuade him that the party in which he was engaged was a good one.

Providence, which by secret springs, unknown even to those that give them a motion, disposes means to their end, made use of the exhortations of the gentlemen whom I have named, to induce me to change my conduct, just at the time that it found the duke disposed to change his, and to be led by me in the manner I should direct him. The greatest difficulty was to persuade me to alter my steps. For though I had in reality no intentions but what were very right and sincere towards the state, and though I desired only to come off with some sort of honour, I was willing however to preserve a certain decorum, which it was very hard to hit rightly on in the present conjuncture. I agreed with these gentlemen, that it was shameful to remain idle, and to suffer the capital city, and perhaps the whole kingdom, to perish; but they likewise agreed with me, that so great a change as the contributing to the restoration of a minister, odious to the whole kingdom, and in whose removal I had so much distinguished myself, would not be much to my honour. There was no room for any of us to doubt, but that every step we should take towards peace, would infallibly, though indirectly, produce that effect; because we could not be ignorant that that restoration was the only thing the queen had in view. Mr. de Fontenay convinced me at last, in a conversation we had together as we were walking one afternoon at the charter-house: 'You see,' said he to me, 'that Mazarin is but a sort of a jack in a box, who is one day hiding himself, and shewing himself the next; but you see likewise, that whether he keeps hid or shews himself, the spring that makes him appear or disappear, is that of the royal authority, which is not like to be so soon broken, considering the manner which is taken to break it. Even many of those that have appeared the most opposite to Mazarin, would be very sorry to see him destroyed. Many others will be very easily comforted to see him saved. There is not one that goes in earnest about ruining him thoroughly, and you yourself, Sir, do it but weakly, because you meet with a great many occasions, in which the terms you are upon with the prince,

do

do not give you leave to act against the court so freely and so fully as you would do. From this I conclude, that it is impossible that the cardinal should not be restored, either by a negotiation with the prince, who will carry the duke along with him whenever he pleases to come to an accommodation with the court; or by the weariness of the people, who perceive already but too clearly, that those of the party of the princes understand neither how to make war nor how to make peace. In both these cases, which I look upon to be infallible, you must be a great loser. For if you don't get out of the briars before the war ends by an accommodation between the prince and the court, it will be hard for you to disentangle yourself from an intrigue in which both the court and the prince will certainly think of ruining you. If the peace proceeds from the weariness of the people, will you be any thing the better for it? And may not that weariness, which always carries with it the hatred of the people against those who have been the most stirring during the faction, alter its course, and fall heavy upon you for your prudent way of keeping quiet, as you have done for some time? These are, in my opinion, the inconveniencies which you may foresee, but which you cannot avoid, except you do it before the civil war ceases by one of the two means which I have spoken of. I know that the engagements you are in with the duke, and even with the public, in relation to Mazarin, do not permit you to do any thing towards his restoration; and you know that for that reason I have declined proposing any thing to you so long as he has kept at court. He is now removed from it, and, though that removal be only a jest and an illusion, it opens however a door to you to enter into measures which will naturally prove useful to you. Paris, though in rebellion, passionately wishes for the king's presence; and those that shall take the first steps towards procuring it, will gain thereby the affections of the people. I own, that in this the people do not consider what they are wishing for, the king's presence being likely to bring hither Mazarin the sooner. But however, they wish for that presence; and Mazarin being removed from court, those that are the first to solicit for it, will not pass for Mazarinians. This entirely does your business; for being guided by no private interest, and wishing at the bottom nothing but the good of the kingdom, and the preservation of your credit with the people, you do the one without obstructing the other. I confess,

confess, that if it was in your power to prevent Mazarin's being restored, the way I propose would agree neither with politics nor morality, considering that his being restored ought to be looked upon, for an infinite number of reasons, as a public calamity. But taking it for granted, as you yourself do, that the ill conduct of his enemies has made his restoration infallible, I cannot conceive why the view of a thing which you cannot prevent, should prevent your getting out of the trouble you are in, by a door which opens to you a way to honour and liberty. Paris, of which you are archbishop, groans under its load; the parliament is now but a mere phantom; the town-house is a desert; the duke and the prince are masters only during the pleasure of those of the mob that are the maddest; the Spaniards, the Germans, those of Lorraine, are in our suburbs, and pillage our very gardens. You that are the pastor of this city, and that have been its deliverer in two or three occasions, have been obliged to guard yourself in your own house for three weeks together; and you know, that even at this day, your friends are concerned when you walk the streets without being armed. Do you reckon the putting an end to all this misery to be nothing? And will you miss the only moment which Providence offers you for putting an end gloriously to it? The cardinal, who loves to disappoint people, may come back to court when he is least expected; and if that should happen, the way I propose would be more impracticable to you than to any man alive. Don't therefore lose moments that ought for a contrary reason to be more precious to you than to any other man. Take your clergy along with you; go to Compiègne; return your thanks to his majesty for the removal of Mazarin; invite him to return to his capital city; act in concert with the gentlemen of the several chambers, that are wishing only for the good of the kingdom, who are most of them already your particular friends, and who look already upon you, by your dignity, as their most natural chief, on an occasion which is so becoming and so proper to your character. If the king comes back to town, the people of Paris will owe his return to you; if he refuses to come, they will however think themselves obliged to you for your good intentions. If you can but bring the duke to approve of this, you save the whole state, because I am persuaded that if he knew but how to act his part well on this occasion, he would bring the king back to Paris, and keep Mazarin from

' from ever returning thither. But supposing that he should
 ' return in some time, you may prevent the risk which I per-
 ' ceive you are in fear of, by reason of the people's reproach-
 ' ing you about it, by the employment at Rome, which I
 ' have heard you several times say that you would sooner re-
 ' solve to accept than the having any thing to do here with
 ' him. You are a cardinal; you are archbishop of Paris;
 ' you have the love of the public; you are but thirty-seven
 ' years old; save this city, save the state.' This is the sub-
 stance of what Mr. de Fontenay said to me, with a rapidity
 quite opposite to his natural coldness; and it is certain that
 it moved me: for though he said nothing which I had not
 already thought upon, as you have seen by the reflections I
 made when the town-house was set on fire, I felt however a
 greater emotion at his representing it to me, than at what I
 had said to myself about it, or what I had heard from others
 on the same subject.

This deputation of the clergy had been for some time be-
 fore in agitation between Mr. de Caumartin and me, and we
 had often been examining, both the manner of performing
 it, and the consequences it might have. I must do Mr. Joly
 the justice to say, that he was the first that thought of it, im-
 mediately after cardinal Mazarin's leaving the court. We
 all of us together added to the substance of the thing the
 circumstances which we thought the most useful, and the most
 necessary. The first, and in every respect the most import-
 ant, was to bring the duke to approve at least this conduct;
 and the disposition which I have already told you he was in,
 gave us room to believe that we might succeed in our at-
 tempt with him. I made use for that effect of the reasons
 which I knew he would like best, among those which Mr. de
 Fontenay had mentioned to me. I added to them the ad-
 vantages which he would himself reap by procuring to the
 parliament and to the city, an amnesty, good, sincere, and not
 fallacious, which he would certainly obtain, if he shewed the
 court a sincere desire of an accommodation. I represented to
 him, that his retreat to Blois, which he had for so long a time
 wished for, being preceded by his care of seeking in the peace
 the sureties necessary both to the public and to every one in
 particular, could not but be glorious to him, and would so
 much the more appear so, that it would be looked upon only
 as the effect of his firm resolution of having no manner of
 hand in restoring the minister: that my retreat to Rome,
 which I had resolved to make before the coming back of the
 cardinal,

cardinal, might be attributed to necessity; because many persons would believe that I should be forced to it, by the fear of finding no safety for me after his being restored: that he was by his birth above such talk and such suspicions; and that if he did for the public before his retreat, what he might certainly do easily with the court, he would remain at Blois, attended but with a very few guards, cherished, respected, and honoured, both by Frenchmen and foreigners, and would be even in a condition to take advantage for the good of the state whenever he pleased, of all the faults of the several parties.

I must desire you to observe, that at the time that I spoke to the duke in this manner, I was informed by a good hand, that five or six days before my last conversation with him, he had been under an apprehension that I should reconcile myself to the prince. He had said enough, though indirectly, in that conversation, to let me perceive the fear he was in. But Joubert, to whom he had made a full confidence of it, upon some advice or other which he had had that Mr. de Brissac was again busy about it, had told me that the duke had cried out, 'If that be true, the civil war is to last for ever.' You may be sure that this circumstance did not deter me from trying him, of which I had no reason to repent; for as soon as I had opened the matter to him, he came of himself into every thing I said. He rallied me upon my ceasing to speak nothing but monosyllables, which was a certain sign with him that he approved of what I said. He afterwards added to my reasons others of his own, which was another convincing sign of his being pleased. Then in a seeming surprize, as if some sudden thought had but just entered his head, which was always his way, chiefly when he had the thing in his head before; he said to me, 'But what shall we do with the prince?' I answered him, 'Your royal highness, sir, ought to consider upon what terms you are with him, for honour is preferable to every thing. But as I have reason to think that the several negotiations that are on foot, are made in common between you two, I suppose that there may be the like understanding between you in this matter, as there has been in all the rest.' 'I find you jest,' replied the duke; 'but I am not so much embarrassed upon this subject, as you believe. The prince is more impatient to be out of Paris than you can be; and he would rather be in the forest of Ardenne, at the head of four squadrons, than to command millions of such people as

as we have here, without excepting the president Charton. What the duke said was true; and Croissi, who was one of the men in the world the least capable of keeping a secret (a defect pretty rare amongst persons used to great affairs) was every day telling me, that the prince was consuming with grief, and was so weary of the parliament, the court of aids, the assemblies of chambers, and the town-house, that he often said that his grandfather could never be more so with the ministers of Rochelle.

I found however by what the duke said to me, that he was seeking for reasons that might satisfy him, in relation to the prince. But for my own satisfaction I affected to furnish him with none, nor to help him to find out any. I kept myself tied up to my monosyllables upon that particular point, though the duke did what he could to make me speak more at large, not only upon that subject, but likewise upon the several negotiations which, right or wrong, were always reported to be on foot. All that I did with the duke was the receiving his orders about my going to wait on the king, which I was forced to digest myself, and to put into a form; this is the substance of what I wrote down. The duke commanded me to make a general assembly of all ecclesiastical societies, and to cause deputies to be named out of each; to go myself at the head of that deputation to entreat his majesty to give peace to his people, and to return to his good city of Paris; to try, by means of my friends, to oblige other bodies and corporations to send deputies to the same effect; to let the court know by means of the princess Palatine (but without sending any letter that might at least be shewn) that his royal highness had been the first promoter of this deputation; to enter however into no particulars relating to a negotiation, till I was myself at Compiègne, where I should tell the queen, that it was visible that the duke would not cause, or even suffer the steps that were now taken by the several bodies of the city, except his intentions were very right and very sincere; that he was for a peace, and was so from the bottom of his heart; that his public engagements against cardinal Mazarin had not given him leave to conclude it, or even to begin it, so long as he staid at court; but now that he was gone from it, he passionately wished to convince her majesty that nothing but that obstacle had prevented his going heartily about that work: that he made use of me to declare to her majesty that he renounced all personal interest, either in respect to himself or to any of his party; that all he asked was in respect

respect only to the public safety, which might be done by explaining only some articles of the amnesty, and giving a form to the whole, which would prove by the event to be as much for the service of the king, as for the satisfaction of particular persons; that as soon as he had had the pleasure to see the king at the Louvre, he would retire to Blois with as much joy as readiness, with an intent to think upon nothing else than to live quiet, and to mind the good of his soul; and that all that should be done afterwards at court should be no longer upon his account, provided they would be pleased not to charge him with it, but would leave him in his solitude, where he very sincerely promised to remain. This last paragraph was, as you see, a substantial one. The duke added to his instruction a precise and particular order to assure the queen that if the prince was not content with the liberty of remaining quiet in his government, with the full enjoyment of all his pensions and all his places, he would forsake him. As I was representing to him, that to my thinking he might and ought even to soften that expression; 'No false generosity,' replied he in an angry tone; 'I know what I say, and shall be able to maintain and justify it.'

This is precisely what passed between the duke and me; after which I left him. I executed his orders literally; in doing which I met with no manner of obstruction, except from those which I ought not to have expected it from. What I am going to relate is incredible. After I had taken all the previous measures necessary to an affair of this nature, I sent either Argenteuil or Joly (I don't well remember which) to the princess Palatine, to confer with her about it. She approved of it entirely; but she wrote me word, that if I really desired that it should succeed, that is, that it should procure the king's coming back to Paris, it was necessary that I should surprize the court; because that if I should give them time there to consult the oracle, his answer would be only such as the priests of the idols should inspire and dictate to him: 'And these priests,' added she by way of cypher (for we had one which we never thought could have been decyphered) 'had rather that the whole temple should perish, than to suffer you to lay a single stone for the repairing of it.' She asked only for five days time to write herself to the cardinal about it, and she managed him so well, that he was in a manner forced to give his consent to my proposals, and to write to the queen that she ought at least to receive my deputation favourably.

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As soon as the Telliers, the Serviens, the Ondedeis, and the Fouquets, had notice of it, they opposed it with all their power, saying, that it could only be a trap which I had prepared for the court to fall into; that if I had had right and sincere intentions, I had begun by a negotiation, and not by a proposal, which would either oblige the king to come back to Paris before he had taken sufficient measures for his safety, or draw upon him the complaints of the whole city for his not coming. The princess Palatine, who thought herself sufficiently strong, by having in hand the cardinal's order, answered them, that it would not be possible for me to act otherwise than I did, supposing that my intentions were never so sincere; because it was much less safe for me to expose myself to a negotiation, in which I might meet with a thousand snares, than to a deputation, of which the worst that could happen could only be my having shewn a good intention, which had proved unsuccessful. Ondedei pretended that the only end of my proposal was the liberty of coming safely to receive the hat from the king's hands. To that the princess answered, that that was but a mere ceremony; which I looked upon, as it was true, with the greatest indifference possible. Then came on the Abbot Fouquet, who alledged, that the correspondences he had in Paris were sufficient to bring the king back there in a little time, without being obliged to persons who proposed to recall him with no other view than to be in a better condition to oppose him afterwards. Messieurs le Tellier and Servien, who had at first sided with the others, came over at last to the princess, moved to it, as well by her solid way of reasoning, as by the cardinal's order; and the queen who had kept the Abbot Charrier, whom I had sent to her for passes, three whole days at Compiègne, even since she had promised them, granted them at last, even with an addition of many civilities for me. I began my journey as soon as I had the passes, having with me the deputies of all the ecclesiastical bodies of Paris, and near 200 gentlemen, of which number fifty were of the duke's guards. I was informed at Senlis, that they had resolved at court not to lodge my train there: and Bautru, who was himself of the number, having taken that opportunity to get out of Paris, whose gates were kept shut, told me that he would not advise me to appear at court with so great a retinue. I answered him, that I could hardly believe that he would advise me to go thither accompanied only by curates, canons, and monks, when the country was filled with soldiers of all parties. He owned that

that I was in the right, and he went himself before to inform the queen of the reasons I had to go accompanied by that retinue, which people had taken care to increase in a very ridiculous manner. All that he could obtain was lodgings only for 30 horse, and you must observe that I had 112 belonging only to the coaches. I only laughed at these silly manners; but what gave me some umbrage was, that I did not meet in my way the detachment of life-guards, which in those days used to meet cardinals the first time they made their appearance at court. My distrust would have turned into fear, if I had known what I was told at my return into Paris; that the cause why this honour was not paid me, was their being yet unresolved what they should do with my person; some maintaining that I ought to be arrested, others that it was necessary to have my life taken away; and others saying, that the violating the public faith on this occasion would be attended with too many inconveniencies. Prince Thomas of Savoy caused Father Senault of the Oratory to tell my father, the very day that I returned to Paris, that he had been of this last opinion; that he would name no body, but that there were people in the world that were great villains. The princess Palatine did not inform me that they had carried the matter so far; but she told me the very next day after my arrival there, that she had rather have me at Paris than at Compiègne. The queen however received me very well, and spoke angrily in my presence to the exempt of the guards for missing me upon the road, by losing his way, as she said, in the forest. The king gave me the cap the next morning, and audience in the afternoon. I made him a speech, which is printed.

The king's answer was civil, but in general terms only, and it was even with difficulty that I could get a copy of it. *

This is what appeared publicly of my journey to Compiègne; I will now tell you what passed in secret.

I told the queen, in the private audience which she gave me in her closet, that I was come to Compiègne, not only as a deputy of the church of Paris, but that I had another deputation, which I valued much more than the first, because I thought it much more advantageous to her service: that this second was the being sent as an envoy from the duke, who had commanded me to assure her majesty, that he had taken

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* *There are here some lines scratched out in the manuscript.*

the resolution to serve her sincerely, effectually, readily and speedily. At this last word I shewed her a billet, signed by the duke, that contained the very words I had spoken. The first movement of the queen expressed an extraordinary joy, and, in my opinion, it was more to that joy than to any art she used (notwithstanding what people have been pleased to say since) that the following words which she spoke to me were owing: 'I knew, sir, that the cardinal de Retz would give me at last some marks of the affection he has for me.' As I was just entering into discourse with her, Ondedei scratched at the door; and as I was rising from my seat to open it, the queen took hold of my arm, and said, 'Stay here for me.' she went out and staid with Ondedei almost a quarter of an hour, and at her coming back, she told me that he had brought her a packet from Spain. She appeared to me embarrassed and altered in her manner of speaking, beyond what I can express. Bluet, whom I have mentioned to you before, has since told me, that Ondedei, who had been informed that I had asked a private audience of her majesty, came to interrupt it, by acquainting her that he had received an order from the cardinal to entreat her to forbear granting me any such audience, which would only serve to give a jealousy to her faithful servants. This Bluet has sworn to me more than once, that he had seen the original of that order in the hands of Ondedei, who received it but just at the time that I was locked up with the queen in her closet. 'Tis certain, that when she came back to me, I observed that she carried me near a window, whose glass came down to the floor, and that she placed me in a manner that it was easy for all those that stood in the court to see us both. What I am relating to you is pretty odd, and I should hardly have believed it, if all that I observed afterwards had not convinced me that there was such a general distrust of one another amongst all at Compiègne, that one must have seen it to imagine it. Messieurs Servien and le Tellier hated one another exceedingly. Ondedei was spy to both, and so he was to all the world. The Abbot Fouquet aspired to the honour of being spy in second. Berthet, Brachet, Ciron, and the mareschal du Pleffis, had each their several shares. The princess Palatine had given me the particular map of Compiègne, but I own that I could not have imagined that it was so exactly drawn as I found it. The queen however, notwithstanding Ondedei's order, could not help expressing her joy and her gratitude to me: 'But,' said she, 'as private conversations would but occasion people to
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‘ talk more than is convenient to the duke and to your-
 ‘ self by reason of the measure which ought to be preserved
 ‘ with the public; see the princess Palatine, and agree with
 ‘ her at what time you may confer in secret with Servien.’
 Bluët told me afterwards that Servien was the man whom
 Ondedei had pointed out to her for this conference, because
 he had appeared the most disaffected to me; but that Servien,
 who was afraid of some ill offices from the subalterns, had re-
 fused to enter into any private negotiation with me, except he
 had for his colleague, or rather for a witness to his behaviour,
 Mr. le Tellier: ‘ Who would not fail otherwise, said he to
 ‘ the queen, to insinuate to the cardinal by some way or other
 ‘ that I am entering into measures to his prejudice with the
 ‘ cardinal de Retz; and ’tis for that reason, madam, that I
 ‘ most humbly intreat your majesty, that Mr. le Tellier may
 assist at the conference.’ I know nothing of what I am now
 writing about, but by the means of Bluët, who indeed was a
 pretty good author in respect to these little particulars, being
 an intimate of Ondedei’s. What makes me believe that he had
 not invented this, is that I really found at the princess Pala-
 tine’s, where I went between eleven and twelve at night,
 Mr. le Tellier, with Mr. Servien, at which I was pretty much
 surprized, because I had some ground to believe that le Tellier
 was not over well affected to me. The sequel will shew you
 the reasons which I had to distrust him.

It appeared to me that these gentlemen had already been
 informed by the queen of what I was to propose to them, of
 which this is the substance: That the duke was sincerely re-
 solved to conclude a peace, and that to convince the queen of
 the sincerity of his intentions, he had been willing, against all
 common rules used in politics, to begin rather with deeds
 than with words: that perhaps the most efficacious and sub-
 stantial proof that he could have given of it was such a solemn
 deputation as that from the whole church of Paris; which
 deputation was resolved upon and executed, in the sight of
 the prince, and of the Spanish troops lodged in the suburbs;
 and that he offered, without hesitating, negotiating, or asking
 either directly or indirectly, for any private advantage, to de-
 clare himself against all those who should oppose the peace, or
 the king’s returning to Paris; provided he should be impow-
 ered to promise the prince that he should be left at peace in
 his governments, upon condition that the prince, on his side,
 should renounce all manner of associations with foreigners;
 and provided that they would put out an amnesty, full, en-
 tire,

fire, and in no manner captious; which amnesty should be verified by the parliament of Paris.

It was hard to imagine that a proposal of this nature should not have been, I don't say accepted, but applauded; because, supposing even that it had not been sincere, which they might suspect, according at least to their corrupt maxims, yet they might have received advantages from it in more than one manner. What made me judge that their reason for rejecting it, was not their distrusting me, but their distrusting one another, was their looking for a long while upon one another, expecting who should speak first. The sequel of the conference, but chiefly a certain air which cannot be expressed, shewed me more than sufficiently that I was not mistaken in my conjectures. I could get from them words only, without any meaning: and the princess Palatine, who, though very well versed in that court, was surprized at it to the last degree, owned to me the next morning that I was right in many of my conjectures. 'But, said she to me, I am resolved at all events, if you agree to it, to speak to them as if I was persuaded that the distrust they have of you is the only cause which hinders them from acting like men: for 'tis certain, continued she, that what I saw of them last night, had nothing of man in it.' I consented to it, provided she spoke only of herself; for after what had appeared to me of their way of acting, I thought not fit to go so far as I had resolved, or as my instructions impowered me. The princess made it up of her own self. She told the queen not only what had passed at her house the night before, but what might have passed if it had pleased the two sub-ministers. In short, she assured the queen, that if what I proposed was granted, the duke would forsake the prince, and would retire to Blois, and would afterwards meddle with nothing, whatever happened. That was the essential point which ought to have decided all. The queen took it right, and had a right sense of it. But all the subalterns undertook to make it pass only for a snare, by saying to her, that the duke made this shew only to draw the king to Paris, and to keep him there, whilst he was ingratiating himself the more with the people, by the honour he assumed of the king's return, which was very agreeable to the public; and by the back door which it was viable he reserved to himself, by his not explaining his mind in relation to cardinal Mazarin. I have already observed that I plainly saw that what they alledged was not so much the effect of any distrust they had upon a point which the state of things

things had been to clear sufficiently, as of the fear they had each of them in particular of making any advances which the rest might have interpreted to their prejudice with the cardinal. For it is easy to judge that if the conduct which they followed on this occasion had proceeded from the distrust, which they took care to infuse into the queen, they would have looked out for means that might have prevented their falling into the snares they would have been afraid of, and which, on the other hand, might have contributed to keep the minds of people from growing more incensed, and affairs more imbroiled, at a time when it was so necessary to appease the one, and bring the other to rights. The event, which proved favourable to the court, did indeed justify their conduct, and I know that the ministers have said since, that they were so well assured of the disposition of Paris, that they had no need of these precautions. You shall yourself judge of it by what followed; but before I go upon it you must give me leave to take notice of two or three circumstances, which, though of no great moment, will represent the state which all these professed spies whom I have mentioned, put the court into.

The queen was so submissive to them, and was so much afraid of their reports, that she intreated the princess Palatine to tell Ondedei, without any affectation, that speaking to her, she had made great railleries of me; and her majesty herself told Ondedei, that I had assured her that the cardinal was an honest man, and that I had no pretensions to his place. I can assure you, in my turn, that I had not said any such foolish words to the queen. Neither did her majesty forget to make her court to the abbot Fouquet, in joining with him to turn the great expence which this journey cost me, into ridicule. I must own that for the little time it lasted that expence was immense. I kept seven tables served at the same time, which cost me eight hundred crowns a-day. But what is necessary is never ridiculous. The queen told me, when I received her orders, that she thanked the duke, to whom she thought herself much obliged; that she hoped he would contribute all that was necessary for the king's return; that it was her request to him; and that she would not take one step without concerting it with him. I answered her, that in my opinion it would be requisite to begin immediately: but she broke off the discourse.

I had wherewithal to comfort myself of the abbot Fouquet's railleries, by the manner in which I was received at Paris.

Paris. I met there at my return with an incredible applause, and I went directly to the duke's palace, where I gave his royal highness an account of my negotiation. I put him into a mighty surprize; he fell into a passion; he railed at the court; he went twenty times into the dutchess's apartment, and came back to me twenty times. At last he said to me hastily: 'The prince is resolved to go; the count de Fuen-saldagne writes him word that he is ordered to deliver up into his hands the whole Spanish forces, but we must not suffer him to go. These people will come to Paris and cut our throats. The court must hold intelligences here, which we are not aware of. Could they act in the manner they do, if they were not conscious of their own strength?'

This was one of the shortest periods of a discourse which lasted above an hour. I let him go on without interrupting him, and I even answered his questions only with monosyllables. At last he grew impatient, and commanded me to give him my opinion, saying, 'I forgive you your monosyllables, when I act to please the prince, contrary to your advice. But when I follow your advice, as I have done on this occasion, I will have you speak out and explain yourself.' 'It is my duty, sir, answered I, to speak always in that manner to your royal highness, whatever advice you are pleased to follow. I do not disown the advice I have given on this occasion; far from it, I don't repent of it, notwithstanding the event. Fortune disposes of that, but fortune has nothing to do with good sense. My sense of things may be less right than that of others, because I want their ability. But for this time I hold my advice to have been as good as if it had succeeded, and it will be no hard matter for me to convince your royal highness of it.' The duke interrupted me here, even hastily; and he said to me, 'You have mistaken my meaning; I know that we have acted reasonably. But it is not enough, as the world goes, to have reason of one's side, chiefly when the thing is past. The question is, what we must now do? We are going to be trampled upon, and you see as well as I, that they are not so blind at court as to act in the manner they do there, except they had either made their accommodation with the prince, or were masters of Paris without me.' The dutchess, who was impatient to know how this scene would end, came at this word into the library where we were, and
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to say the truth, I was very glad of it, because that when she was not prepossessed she judged always right, though she had but a mean understanding. The duke continuing to command me in her presence to speak my opinion, I begged leave of him to set it down in writing, which was always the best way with him, because his vivacity made him at every instant interrupt the thread of the discourse spoken to him. I give you here a copy of what I wrote down, transcribed from the original, which I met with by great chance.

I think that his royal highness ought to take it for granted that the haughtiness of the court proceeds less from the knowledge they have there of their strength, than of the confusion which the absence of the cardinal, and the multitude of agents they have there, puts them into two or three times in a day. But as part of our present discussion ought to be grounded upon that principle, it is not just that his royal highness should believe me upon my bare word; which after all is itself grounded only upon what I think that I have discovered at Compiègne, and in which I may consequently be mistaken. For that reason I intreat his royal highness to begin by having that point cleared, and by being satisfied whether what I think I have discovered is well grounded. To explain myself better, I would have him be satisfied whether the haughtiness which I fancy I have observed in the court is really true, and whether it proceeds from the confusion which I have mentioned, or from the diffidence and the aversion they have there for my person. His royal highness may be satisfied upon that point in two days time, by means of Mr. Damville, and by means of those gentlemen that belong to his royal highness, that are more agreeable to the queen than I. If I have been mistaken, I see nothing new that ought to hinder him from pursuing his point, and going on with the peace as he had resolved before by making use of persons that are like to be heard at court more favourably than I. If I am right in my conjecture, the question is whether his royal highness ought to change his thoughts, to think no longer of an accommodation, and to make war effectually, running the risk of all that may happen; or whether he ought to sacrifice himself to the public repose and tranquillity. Those who receive his royal highness's command to speak their sentiments on this occasion, are much embarrassed, because their fate must be, to pass either

for men of a factious spirit, who seek to render the civil
 war eternal; or for traitors, that sell their party; or for
 idiots, that treat of matters of state in the closet of princes,
 as they would do of cases of conscience in the Sorbonne.
 And the misfortune is that it will be neither their good or
 their ill conduct, nor their good or evil intentions, which
 will either give them those denominations, or preserve them
 from those titles. All will depend on fortune, or even on
 their enemies conduct. This observation shall not prevent
 me from speaking to his royal highness on this occasion,
 with the same liberty that I should use, supposing that I
 was nothing concerned in the matter, and that I did not
 find myself in a conjuncture where I am sure that nothing
 good can be said, for the same reason that nothing good can
 be done. His royal highness has in my opinion, as I have
 already said, but two ways to follow, supposing that the
 court is in the disposition I believe them to be in. These
 two ways are, either to yield to whatever they please there,
 and to suffer their coming back to Paris by their own means,
 without thinking themselves obliged to his royal highness
 for it, and without giving the public any manner of surety;
 or to oppose their return with courage and with vigour, and
 to oblige them, by a strong and bold resistance, to enter
 into a treaty and to pacify the state by the same means which
 have been always sought for at the end of civil wars. If
 the respect I owe his royal highness gave me leave to count
 myself for any thing in so great an affair as this, I should
 take the liberty to tell him, that the first way would serve
 my purpose, because it would lead me (perhaps amidst
 some murmurs which would at first be raised against me)
 to the post which I am persuaded would be no ill one for
 me. The Frondeurs would at first say that my counsels
 would have been but weak. Pacific men, whose number
 is always the greatest at the end of civil wars, would say
 that they had been both wise and honest: I should above
 all remain a cardinal and archbishop of Paris, though per-
 haps removed to Rome; but removed only for a time, and
 even during that time in the greatest post there. The event
 would oblige politicians to look upon me with the same eye
 as pacific men. The heat against Mazarin would either
 be extinguished, or laid asleep by his being restored. The
 murmurs raised at first against me would be forgotten, or
 would be only remembered to occasion people's saying still
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the more that I am an able and a gallant man for withdrawing myself so cleverly out of an ill step. This is the manner in which the world treats private persons, in respect to reputation. It is otherwise with princes, because their birth and elevation being always more than sufficient to save from shipwreck their person and their fortune, their reputation is thereby the more exposed. Supposing that his royal highness suffers the parliament to be removed, the assemblies of the town-house to be interdicted, the canons of the cathedral to be forcibly taken away, half of the sovereign courts to be exiled; people will not say: 'What could he have done to have helped it?' The attempting any thing would perhaps have proved his ruin.' They will say: 'It was in his power to have helped it; the thing was easy if he had had but the will.' It may be objected for the same reason, that supposing that his royal highness makes a peace, that he retires to Blois, and that cardinal Mazarin is restored; people will say the like of him. But I maintain that in this last case, there will be a vast, nay an entire difference from the first; because as to the return of Mazarin, after a peace made by his royal highness, the people may easily think that his royal highness had not foreseen it; but if his royal highness suffers the court to return without his leave, it cannot be said that he has not foreseen all the evil that will ensue to Paris perhaps to-morrow, if he does not oppose it. I fear the return of cardinal Mazarin for the body of the state. I should not fear it, at least for the present, in relation to Paris. Neither his temper nor his interest, would carry him to revenge himself upon this city, and there would, in my opinion, be less danger in respect to that, by his presence now at court, than by his absence from it. What makes me tremble for Paris, is the animosity which is natural to the queen, the violence of Servien, the hardness of le Tellier, the passion of the abbot Fouquet, the madness of Ondedei. All that this pack of men are like to advise in the first instants of a reduction, all that they will execute, will be charged to his royal highness's account, whilst he himself is either still at Paris, or just getting out of it. But no such thing will happen if his royal highness comes to a reasonable treaty with the court, wherein he takes care jointly with the parliament and other bodies, to take all possible sureties, agreeable to an affair of this nature; for after such a treaty, and after

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his royal highness's being retired to Blois, every thing, and even the return of the cardinal, would be wholly charged to the account of the court, and would turn to the clearing and even to the honour of his royal highness. These are my thoughts as to the first way, and here follow my reflections upon the second, which is that of continuing, or rather renewing the war.

It is, in my opinion, what his royal highness can no longer do, but by keeping the prince near him. The court has gained a great deal of ground in the provinces, chiefly in those places where the heat of the parliaments is grown much cooler. Paris itself is not now near so zealous as it was; and though it is far from being so much relaxed as some would persuade the court, it is certain, that it is necessary to support people's spirits there, and that moments begin even to become precious. The person of the prince is not beloved there; his birth, his troops, his valour, are still there of the same weight. In short, if his royal highness follows the second way, the first step he ought to take is to make himself sure of the prince his cousin. The second step, in my opinion, is to speak his mind publicly and without delay, in the parliament, and at the town-house, and to declare his reasons for continuing the war; to mention there the advances which he has made to the court by my means, and the design they have resolved upon there to return to Paris without giving any sureties, either to the sovereign courts, or to the city; to mention the resolution which his royal highness has taken to oppose the court with all his might, and to treat as enemies all those who shall hold directly or indirectly any correspondence there. The third step is, in my opinion, to execute these declarations with vigour, and to enter into war, as if his royal highness was never to think again of a peace. The power which his royal highness has with the people makes me believe without the least doubt, that all that I have here proposed is possible; but I must add, that it will cease to be so, the moment that his royal highness shall cease to make use of all his authority, because the contrary steps which he has suffered to be made towards the court, have rendered those that are now necessary, more difficult. It is his royal highness's business to consider what he may expect or what he may fear from the prince; how far he is willing to engage with foreigners; what measures he will take with the parliament and with the town-house; for except he comes
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to a fixed resolution upon all these points, with a firm design of not departing from it; except he resolves to reject for the future those mediums whereby he pretends to reconcile things contradictory and impossible, his royal highness will again fall into all the inconveniencies in which he has seen himself, and which he will find more dangerous beyond comparison, than in time past, because the state in which things are, will render them decisive. It does not belong to me to decide upon a matter of this importance; I leave it to his royal highness to take his resolution. *Sola mihi obsequio gloria relicta est.*

This I writ hastily, and without stopping, upon the table of the library of the duke's palace. His royal highness read it with great attention, and carried it to the dutchess. The ground-work of it was examined all the evening long, but without coming to any resolution by reason of the duke's continual hesitating, without ever coming to a choice.

At my coming from this conference, I found Mr. de Caumartin at the president de Bellievre's, who had caused his people to remove him to a house in the suburb of St. Michael, by reason of a defluxion he had on one eye. I told Mr. de Caumartin the substance of what I had writ down at the duke's. He chid me for it, and said: 'I cannot imagine what is your meaning: for you expose yourself to the hatred of both parties, by speaking the truth too openly of them both.' 'I know,' replied I to him, 'that I go against politics, but I act agreeably to morality, which I value more than the other.' 'Nay,' said the president de Bellievre, even according to politics, the cardinal de Retz is in the right, considering the state in which affairs are. There is so much uncertainty in them, chiefly in respect to his royal highness, that a wise man ought not to take upon him to determine any thing.'

Two hours after this, the duke sent for me to madam de Pomereux's, where I was, and I found a page at the gate of his palace waiting to tell me, that his royal highness desired that I would go to the dutchess's apartment, and stay for him there. He was unwilling that I should go to the library, where he was shut up with Goulas, whom he was questioning upon the subject you shall now see. He came to me some time after, and said: 'You were this day saying, that the first step I ought to take in case I resolve upon continuing the war, is to make myself sure of the prince: but how

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‘the devil can do it!’ ‘You know, sir,’ replied I, ‘that in the terms I am on with his highness, I cannot answer your question. Your royal highness ought to consider how far your power extends in this case.’ ‘How would you have me know it?’ continued he; ‘Chavigny has almost finished a treaty with the abbot Fouquet. Do you remember what madam de Choisy has lately told me upon that subject in general terms? I have been now informed of all the particulars. The prince swears that he knows nothing of the matter, and that Chavigny is a traitor; but who can tell whether that be true?’ These particulars were, that Chavigny was treating with the abbot Fouquet, and that he promised to use his utmost efforts with the prince to oblige him to come to an accommodation with Mazarin upon reasonable terms. A letter from the abbot Fouquet to Mr. le Tellier, which was intercepted by a party of Germans, and carried to Mr. de Tavanne’s, justified the prince fully in respect to Chavigny’s negotiation; for it imported in express words, That in case the prince would not submit to reason, Chavigny engaged his word to the queen, that he would leave nothing undone to set him at variance with the duke.

The prince, who had the original of that letter in his hands, carried his passion against Chavigny to a great extremity, and called him traitor, speaking to himself. Overcome by grief at this, Chavigny went home to bed, and never rose from it afterwards. Mr. de Bagnols, who was his friend as well as mine, came to desire me to go and see him. I found him without the use of his senses, and I paid to his family what I would have paid to his person. I remember that mademoiselle du Plessis Guenegaut was in his chamber, where he died two or three days after.

Much about that time the duke of Guise * came from Spain, where he had been detained prisoner, and did me the honour to come and visit me the very next day after his arrival. I intreated him that he would, in regard to me, moderate

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* Henry de Lorraine, second of the name, born in 1614. He went in 1647 to the assistance of those who had rebelled at Naples, where, after he had behaved himself to admiration, he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards, who kept him in their hands till about this time. In 1654 he went, for the second time, on an expedition to Naples, and he died in 1664. We have his memoirs, which are esteemed.

rate the sharp complaints he made against Mr. de Fontenay, by whom he pretended to have been ill used at the time of the revolution at Naples, Mr. de Fontenay being then ambassador at Rome. He yielded to my instances with a civility worthy of the great name he bore.

I had all along reserved to treat in this place of the affair of Brissac, which I have just touched upon in the second volume of these memoirs, because it was likewise much about this time that the prince d'Harcourt quitted the army and the service of the king, to throw himself into that important place. But as it has not been possible for me to find a relation extremely fine and sincere, which I had of it, and which was writ by an officer of the garrison, who was a man of sense and honour, I rather chuse to pass by the particulars, and I content myself to tell you in general that the good genius of France defended and saved the honour of that crown in that important and famous post, in spite of all the imprudences of the cardinal, and of the infidelities of madam de Guebriant, by the good intentions of Charlevoix, and by the uncertainties of the count d'Harcourt. * I return to my narration.

The irresolution of his royal highness was of a species altogether singular. It often hindered him from acting, at the time that acting was the most necessary, and it put him sometimes upon acting, when it was most necessary to remain quiet. I attribute both these effects to his irresolution, because they both proceeded, as I have observed, from the different and opposite views he had, which made him believe that he might make a serviceable use to himself, though in different manners, either of acting or not acting, according as he was moved by these opposite and different views. But methinks I explain myself but ill, and that you will understand me better, by exposing to your view the faults which I pretend to have been the effect of that irresolution. I proposed to the duke upon the first or the second of September, to go sincerely about making a peace, and I represented to him that nothing was of greater importance than the keeping this design entirely hid from the court itself, for the reasons you have seen before, to which the duke agreed. Upon the 5th, there was an assembly held at the town-house, which
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* The count d'Harcourt was at that time governor of Alsatia, of which he formed the design of making himself sovereign.

the prince himself procured, to make the people believe that he did not oppose the king's return, and it was the president de Nesmond, at least as I have been told since, who persuaded him that that demonstration was necessary: I have never remembered to speak to him about it. It was resolved in that assembly, to send a solemn deputation to the king to intreat him to return to his good city of Paris. This was not at all agreeable to the duke's design, who having resolved, as I have already said, to gain to himself the honour and the merit of the deputation of the clergy, at the head of which I was to go, ought not to have suffered that the city should be before-hand with him; considering besides that he was not master of the steps that might follow that deputation. He engaged however, without any hesitation, not only to suffer the assembly to meet at the town-house, but to assist at it in person. I was informed of it but in the evening, and I mentioned it freely to him as a false step he had made. 'Why,' said he, 'this meeting about a deputation will come to nothing. Who does not know the insignificancy of these assemblies? The prince has desired this, believing it good for him to appease people's minds, whom the firing of the town-house has incensed. But besides,' added he, (and these are the words, which I would have you to observe) 'who knows whether we shall execute what we have resolved about the deputation of the clergy? We must advance and draw back in these perverse times, as matters require, without minding regularity too much.' This answer is, in my opinion, an explanation of the nonsense you have seen before; I will give you another example. The king having refused, as you shall see presently, this deputation of the town-house, old Broussel, who made a scruple to suffer that his name should be alledged as an obstacle to the peace, went to the town-house and declared there that he quitted his magistracy. Having had notice time enough of his design to have prevented it, I went to acquaint the duke with it, who after having mused a little, said to me: 'If the court had answered our good intentions, it had been well for us that Broussel had quitted his post; but I own that for the present it is bad for us. But you must own likewise, that if they come to themselves at court, as they must do one time or other, it being impossible that they should always remain blind; we should not be sorry that old Broussel had lost his place.' You see in this discourse the

image and the effects of uncertainty. I have mentioned these two examples only as patterns out of a long series of actions of the like nature, which the duke, who had certainly a very clear understanding, could not correct himself of. It is true indeed that the court afforded him no room to reflect much upon his faults, for want of taking advantage of them. The advantage they received from them at court was due to fortune alone, and if the duke and the prince had made the use they might have done, of their refusing there to receive the deputation from the town-house, the court would have been in danger to have no deputation at all for a long while. Their answer to Pietre, the king's attorney for the city of Paris, who went to demand an audience for the echevins, and the deputies of the several wards, was that it could not be granted so long as the city should acknowledge Mr. de Beaufort for governor, and Mr. de Broussel for prevoist-des-marchands. The president Viole said to me, as soon as he had heard of this refusal: 'I did not approve of the deputation, fearing that it would prove more hurtful than beneficial to the duke and to the prince. But the imprudence of the court has now turned it altogether to their advantage.' The voluntary abdication of old Broussel rendered that imprudence the more solemn. It is certain that they might have used mediums there, which even in preserving the dignity of the crown, had not exasperated people's minds to the degree this refusal did. If the princes had made a right use of it, the ministers would have repented for a long time of their blundering manner of carrying on this affair, as well as all others.

What is surprizing is, that the court followed this conduct, just at the time that the party of the princes was receiving a very considerable reinforcement. The duke of Lorraine, who thought that by removing out of the kingdom, he had fulfilled his treaty made with Mr. de Turenne at Villeneuve St. George, notified by two cannon shot that he was arrived at Vaucoules-Dames, which is in the Barrois. He came back afterwards into Champaign with all his forces, which were augmented with three thousand German horse, commanded by prince Ulric of Wirtemberg. The chevalier de Guise commanded as lieutenant-general under the duke of Lorraine, and the count de Pas, whom I have mentioned before in some place or other, had, I think, joined some horse to this army. The duke of Lorraine came slowly on towards Paris, enriching his

his army by pillaging. He encamped near Villeneuve St. George, where the duke of Orleans's forces commanded by Mr. de Beaufort, those of the prince (who was sick at Paris) commanded by the prince of Tarente and the count de Tavaignes, and those of Spain commanded by Clinchant, in the room of Mr. de Nemours, came to join him. They resolved all of them together to come nearer Mr. de Turenne, who having Corbeil, Melun, and all that is above the river, in his hands, wanted for nothing; when the confederates, who were obliged to seek for subsistence in the neighbourhood of Paris, pillaged the villages, and raised consequently the price of provisions in the city. This consideration, added to their number, which was superior to that of Mr. de Turenne, obliged them to seek out for an opportunity to fight him. He avoided it with that capacity which is known and respected all the world over, and the whole ended in rencounters and skirmishes, that left matters undecided. The imprudence, or rather the ignorance of the cardinal, and of the sub-ministers, went near to ruin their party, by a fault which ought to have been beyond comparison of more prejudice to them than even the defeat of Mr. de Turenne. Prevot, a canon of Nôtre-Dame, and a counsellor of the parliament, a man as mad as any one can be that is not shut up, undertook to assemble together at the Palais-royal all those that were true servants to the king, (that was to be the distinguishing character.) This assembly was made up of four or five hundred citizens, of which there were not sixty that were men of any substance. Prévot acquainted them that he had received a lettre de-cachet from the king, by which he was ordered to put to the sword all those who should wear straw in their hats, instead of paper, which was the distinguishing mark of those of the king's party. He read, in effect, that letter, and that was the beginning of the most ridiculous enterprize thought of since the procession of the league. The event was, that upon the twenty-fourth of September, as that assembly was coming out of the Palais-royal, they were most intolerably hissed at; and that upon the twenty-sixth the mareschal d'Estampes, whom the duke sent to the place where they assembled, dispersed them by speaking but a few words. The end of that expedition was, that they ceased to assemble for fear of being hanged, as they were threatened to be by an arrest of parliament, forbidding upon pain of death to assemble and to wear any distinguishing marks. If the duke and the prince had made use of that opportunity in the manner they might have done, the king's party had that day been crushed.

crushed in Paris for a long time. One le Maire, a perfumer, who was of that gang, came running into my house, trembling for fear, and as pale as death. I remember that it was not in my power to hearten him, and that he desired that he might hide himself in my cellar. I had myself ground enough to be afraid; for being known not to be in the interest of the prince, I might easily enough have been suspected to have had a hand in that enterprize. The duke, as you have seen, was not inclined to make use of such conjunctures; and the prince was so weary of any thing that had to do with the people, that he did not think it worth his consideration. Croissi has told me since that he endeavoured all he could to awaken the prince on this occasion, and to persuade him that he ought not to lose it. I never remembered to speak of it to the prince.

Here follows another fault, in my opinion not less than the first. The duke of Lorraine, who was a great lover of negotiations, entered into one as soon as he was arrived. He told me in the presence of the dutchess of Orleans, that negotiations followed him every where; that when he left Flanders he was weary of negotiating with the count de Fuensaldagne, and that at Paris he must begin again to negotiate, whether he would or no: 'For (said he) what else can one do here, when I see even the baron du Jour thinks of making a separate treaty for himself?' This baron du Jour was a gentleman belonging to the duke, and a very odd sort of a man; so that the duke of Lorraine could not better represent the multitude of negotiators, than by bringing this baron into the number. But what made him further believe that that spirit of negotiating was come into the duke's head, was his having observed that for some time he had not pressed him to cause his troops to advance, as he had done before. His observation was true, and it is certain that the duke, who was sincerely for a peace, had good reasons to be afraid that the prince seeing himself so considerably reinforced, would put invincible obstacles to it. The duke was extremely glad for that reason, to see the duke of Lorraine likewise inclined to negotiate, and to send to court Mr. de Jojeuse St. Lambert, 'who will only have (said the duke to me) Mr. de Lorraine's commission, which will not hinder him from discovering if there is nothing to be done for me.' 'He may, perhaps, sir, (answered I) be more successful than I have been: I wish he may, though I do not believe it.' I guessed right, for that gentleman staid twelve days at court without receiving

ing any answer. He reported one at his coming back, I believe of his own making, in words so obscure that no body could understand the meaning of them, except at court, where it was disowned. The marshal d'Estampes, whom the duke had likewise sent thither upon the insinuations given to the dutchess of Orleans by Mr. le Tellier's means, that he would be hearkened to there as a private man, upon all that he might say in the duke's name, came back as much dissatisfied at least as the other.

Upon the 30th of September, Mr. Talon, made an end of letting the duke and the public into the true intentions of the queen, by sending Mr. Doujat to the parliament (he being himself indisposed) with the letters he had received from the chancellor and the first president, in answer to those he had writ to them, consequently to the deliberation of the 26th. These letters imported that the king having transferred his parliament to Pontoise, and interdicted the counsellors at Paris from any manner of function there, he could receive no deputation from them till they had obeyed. I cannot express to you the consternation of the company. It went so far, that the duke was afraid that they would have forsaken him, which apprehension made him take a very false step, for it obliged him to draw a letter out of his pocket full of flattering expressions from the queen. The marshal d'Estampes had brought him this letter, and though that gentleman was very well affected to the court, he could not imagine it to be sincere, no more than the duke himself, who had shewn it me the day before, saying to me: 'The queen must take me for a great fool to write to me in this manner, at the time that she is acting as she does.' By this you may see that he was not the dupe of this letter, or rather that he had not been so to that moment. But he became in effect the dupe of it by his making a shew of it to the parliament, because it persuaded the parliament that the duke was treating of an accommodation for himself with the court. By this means he threw a distrust of his conduct among the members of that company, instead of regaining a further credit with them. He could never divest himself of that mysterious air on such occasions, and notwithstanding what the dutchess could say to him, he thought it all along necessary for his safety, to prevent people, as he said, from running into accommodations without him. That air of negotiating, added to the appearances of it which the party of the prince was continually shewing, was, in my opinion, what brought the peace about, much sooner.

sooner than the most real and effectual negotiations could have done. Great affairs depend still more upon imagination than small ones. The people's imagination alone is sometimes the cause of a civil war. It produced the peace on this occasion; for the peace ought not to be attributed to their weariness, which was far from being come to such a point as to oblige them to recall back or to receive Mazarin. It is certain that they suffered his return only when they became persuaded that they could no longer prevent it: but as soon as the body of the public perceived plainly that it was so, then private persons ran into it, and what persuaded both private persons and the public that it was so, was the conduct of the chiefs.

The duke's mysterious manner of explaining himself in the late assemblies, in order to shew the regard which they still preserved for him at court, finished what was already very much advanced. Every body thought the peace certain, so that every body was for making his separate treaty. As soon as the gentleman whom the duke of Lorraine had sent to court was come back, and that his negotiation was known, the parliament slackened, and gave publicly to understand, that provided the king would grant a general and full amnesty, that should be verified in the parliament at Paris, they would seek for no other sureties. They went not so far as to declare this by a formal arrest, but what they did produced very near the same effect, having intreated the duke to seek himself for no other sureties, and to inform the king of it.

Upon the 10th of October, Mr. Servien having represented that it would be necessary to desire the duke of Beaufort to resign the government of Paris, by reason of the king's refusing to receive the deputies of the town-house, so long as he should assume that post; Mr. Servien, I say, who at another time durst not have mentioned any thing like this, was now heard without being either repulsed or hissed. It was even said in that same sitting, that the counsellors of the parliament, who were officers of the trained-bands, might go, if they pleased, to St. Germain's, where the court was, with the deputation of the town-house. Observe however that among the instances which this deputation was to make to the king for his returning to Paris, not a word was said about the verification of the amnesty in the parliament at Paris. What nonsense was that!

Upon the 11th the duke promised the company to get Mr. de Beaufort to resign his employment; and messieurs Doujat and

and Servien acquainted the company of the complaints they had made to the duke of the disorders committed by the forces, contrary to the promise which had been given that they should retire. The duke of Lorraine, whom I met that day in St. Honoré's street, and who had like to have been killed by the citizens who guarded the gate of St. Martin, because he would have gone out of town, set off with all its colours the uniformity of this conduct. He told me that he would write a book upon it, and dedicate it to the duke. * My poor little sister * will cry at it, said he, but no matter: she will comfort herself with mademoiselle Claude. †

Upon the 12th, the duke made many excuses to the parliament that the troops did not remove so soon as they would have done had it not been for the bad weather. You are without doubt very much surprised to hear the duke speak in this manner of those troops, which eight or ten days before appeared publicly in their red and yellow scarfs, in a condition to fight even with advantage those of the king. An historian who should write of times more remote would seek for connections to incidents so unlikely, and if I may say so, so contradictory as these were. There was no greater interval of time than the few days I have mentioned, between these doings, neither was there any other mystery in it. All that vulgar politicians have been pleased to imagine in order to reconcile these events, was nothing else than fiction and chimeras. This brings me back to the maxim I have laid down, which is, that by consequences almost inevitable, capital faults render those things possible which appear and are in effect the most unlikely.

Upon the 13th the colonels of the several wards of the city had the king's order to come by deputies to St. Germain's where Mr. de Seve, the eldest of them, spoke for the rest. The king ordered a dinner to be prepared for them, and honoured them even with his presence whilst they dined. That same day the prince left Paris with a joy beyond whatever you can imagine: he had formed that design long before. It has been the opinion of many, that his love for madam de Châtillon had detained him there; but many others believed

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* *The dutchess of Orleans.*

† *Claude de Lorraine, who married cardinal Francis of Lorraine her cousin-german, and brother to that duke of Lorraine, of whom the cardinal de Retz here speaks: from which marriage the present dukes of Lorraine are descended.*

that he had, to the last, entertained hopes of coming to an accommodation with the court. I cannot remember what he has told me upon that subject; for it is impossible that in the long conversations I have had since with him about matters past, I should not have mentioned this.

Upon the 14th Mr. de Beaufort made a short and bad compliment to the parliament, upon his having resigned the government of Paris.

Upon the 16th the duke declared plainly to the parliament, that the king had disowned in every respect what the gentleman sent by Mr. de Lorrain pretended to have transacted at court; but he added, according to his usual stile, that he was every moment expecting some better news. The duke seeing me wonder at his continuing this conduct, said to me: 'Would you be answerable from one quarter of an hour to another? How do I know whether the people would not in an instant deliver me up to the king, if they thought that I kept no measures with the court? How do I know whether in another instant they would not deliver me up to the prince, if it came into his head to return to Paris, and to cause there an insurrection?' When you see these principles of the duke's, I believe that you are less surprized at his conduct. It is said that one ought never to dispute against what is laid down for a principle. Those principles that are grounded upon fear ought less to be disputed and are less disputable than all others: they are unapproachable.

The duke acquainted the parliament upon the 19th that he had received a letter from the king, informing him of his coming to Paris upon the 5th, which was the Monday; and the duke added, that he was extremely surprized that their majesties should not begin by sending an amnesty to be verified in the parliament of Paris. The company fell into the greatest consternation. They deliberated upon it, and it was agreed that they should intreat the king to do that act of grace both to the parliament and to his people.

His royal highness had received that letter upon the 18th in the evening, upon which he immediately sent for me. He told me that the conduct of the court was incomprehensible; that they ventured there upon losing all, and that he had almost a mind to shut the gates against the king. I answered him, that the conduct of the court was not at all incomprehensible to me; that they knew there that they ran no manner of hazard, knowing as they did his good and pacific intentions; that in my opinion they acted (at least considering the end they had)

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with much more prudence than they had done in the beginning; that I could not see what could hinder them from returning to Paris, after his having promised ever since the 14th to restore the former prevost-des-marchands and the eschevins, as the court had ordered it, without ever concerting the thing with him. The duke uttered five or six oaths one after another; and after having mused a little, 'Go, said he, I will be left for two hours to myself; come again this evening about eight.' I found him at that time in the dutchess's closet, and I found her catechising or rather exhorting of him, for he was in the greatest transport possible, and spoke as if he had been on horseback, armed cap-à-pè, and ready to cover the plains of St. Dennis and Grenelle with blood and slaughter. The dutchess was frightened, and I must confess that though I knew the duke well enough to prevent my being over hasty in imagining him so bloody-minded, I fancied however that he was more moved than ordinary. The first thing he said to me was: 'Well, sir, what say you to this? Do you think there is any safety for me to treat with the court?' 'None at all, sir, answered I, except you look to yourself, and provide for your own safety; her royal highness knows that I never spoke otherwise to you.' 'Tis certainly so,' said the dutchess. 'But had you not told me,' continued the duke, 'that the king would not return to Paris without concerting the matter with me?' 'I had told you, sir, replied I, that the queen had told me so, but that her manner of saying it obliged me to give your royal highness notice; that you ought by no means to rely upon her word.' 'He has given you but too much notice,' said the dutchess, 'but you would not believe him.' 'I own it, replied the duke, and 'I complain only of the cursed Spanish woman.' 'Complaints are out of season, said the dutchess; it is high time to act something one way or other. You was for peace when it was in your power to make war; you are now for war, when it is not in your power to make either war or peace.' 'I will make war to-morrow,' replied the duke in a warrior's tone, 'and more easily than ever. Ask the cardinal de Retz.' The duke thought that I would have opposed that proposition; I perceived that it was the thing he wished, to have it in his power afterwards to say, that he would have done wonders if he had not been kept back. I gave him no room for it, for I answered him gravely and without the least emotion: 'No doubt of it, sir.' 'Am I not still,' continued the duke, 'master of the people?' 'Yes, sir,' said I.

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‘ At my calling the prince back, will he not return ? ’ ‘ I believe he will, sir, ’ said L. ‘ Will not the Spanish army advance if I require it ? ’ ‘ In all appearance it will, ’ replied L. ‘ You expect after this that he would have entered into some great resolution, or at least into some great deliberation. Nothing like it ; and I cannot give you a better account of the end of this conference, than by desiring you to remember what you have sometimes seen at the Italian comedy. The comparison shews indeed but little respect, and I should not take the liberty to make it, if it was of my own inventing. But it came into the dutchess’s head presently after the duke’s going out of her closet, and she told it me half laughing and half crying. ‘ Methinks, ’ said she, ‘ that I see Harlequin telling Scaramouche : What fine things I would have said, if thou hadst not had wit enough to contradict me ! ’ The conversation ended in that manner, the duke concluding, that, though it was very bad that the king should return to Paris without doing it in concert with him, and without an amnesty verified in parliament, it would however agree neither with his duty or reputation to oppose it, because there was nobody but knew that it was in his power to do it if he pleased, so that all the world would do him justice in acknowledging that his regard for the quiet of the state was the only thing that could oblige him to follow a conduct, which, as to his particular, ought to be grievous to him. The dutchess, who was however of his opinion at the bottom, at least in regard to the thing itself, for the reasons you have seen before, could not allow him that expression. She said to him with firmness, and, even with anger ; ‘ This way of reasoning, sir, might become the cardinal de Retz, but not a son of France : but that question is now over, and all we have to do now is to submit with a good grace to the king. ’ He exclaimed at that word as if she had proposed to him to throw himself headlong into the river. ‘ Retire then, sir, immediately, ’ added she. ‘ And where the devil shall I retire ? ’ said he. He left her at this word, and went to his own apartment whither he commanded me to follow him. It was to ask me if I had had no notice from the princess Palatine about the king’s return : I told him that I had not ; which was true : but it was not long before I heard from her, for an hour after I received a billet of her’s, importing that the queen had commanded her to acquaint me with it, and to tell me that her majesty made no doubt but that I would finish in this conjuncture what I had so well and so happily begun at Compiègne. That princess made me many excuses in a billet
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apart writ in cypher, for giving me this notice so late. You know the state of things here, added she; the court is at St. Germain's the same it was at Compiègne. This was telling me enough. All that I have related arrived upon the 20th of October.

The king who lay that night at Ruel, came to Paris upon the 21st. He sent from Ruel Nogent and Mr. d'Amville to the duke, to invite him to come and meet him. His royal highness could never resolve upon doing it, though these two gentlemen pressed him extremely. They were in the right, and I am still persuaded that the duke was not in the wrong. Not that there was any design against his person, at least as I have heard the marshal de Villeroy say: but I believe that if he had been to meet the king, and that the king had had a design to have secured him, he might have done it, considering the disposition in which the people were. I own that at the bottom the people were very well inclined to the duke, and better inclined to him beyond comparison than to the court; but the minds of people were in an agitation, and in a flutter that might in my opinion have been turned to any thing; and if the weight of the royal majesty had been made use of in that conjuncture, I do not know whether it would not have carried it. I speak doubtfully upon the matter, because it is certain that upon the whole the duke had still for him all the meaner, and even all the middling people. But, in short, there were, in my opinion, good reasons to prevent his running the risk, chiefly out of the walls of Paris. My wonder was much greater that the ministers should expose the person of his majesty to the discontent, the distrust and the fright of the duke; to the fear of a parliament that had room to believe that the court came with a design to crush that company; and to the caprice of a people who continued their attachment to persons of whom the cardinal was far from being assured. The event has so well justified the conduct which the court followed on this occasion, that it is almost ridiculous to blame it. I think nevertheless that it was imprudent, rash, and inconsiderate, beyond what it is possible to imagine. I will not say upon this head what I have said upon the other, that I am doubtful; I will say positively and to my certain knowledge, that if the duke had pleased, the queen and the sub-ministers had that day been separated from the king.

Courtiers will always suffer themselves to be amused by the acclamations of the people, without considering that they are only things of course on such occasions. I heard some persons at

at the Louvre that evening that were flattering the queen upon these acclamations, whilst Mr. de Turenne, who was behind me, at the circle, was whispering me in the ear: 'They did almost the like lately for the duke of Lorrain.' I had surprized that gentleman very much if I had told him, that in the midst of these acclamations there had been many persons who had proposed to the duke to oblige the king to go to the town-house and take up his lodging there. This was very true, and Mr. de Beaufort himself had pressed him about it with twelve or fifteen counsellors of the parliament. There are some of them who are still living, whom people would very much wonder at if I should name them. The duke would not hearken to it, and I opposed it to my utmost when the duke told me of that proposal. It was, in my opinion, a thing possible as to the present success, it being certain that any town-officer that would have made the least appearance against the duke's orders, had been massacred by his own soldiers; but setting aside respect, conscience, and what else you can imagine, the proposal was foolish, considering the circumstances and the consequences, as you will perceive at once by what I have said before. It was certainly by a principle of duty only that I opposed it, for I thought myself in much greater danger than I have ever done in my life. I went to wait for the king at the Louvre, where I staid two or three hours before he came, with madam de Lesdiguières, and Mr. de Turenne. This last asked me aloud, without any ill meaning, but rather moved by his concern, 'Whether I thought myself safe there?' I squeezed his hand, because I perceived that Frelay, who was a great Mazarinian, had heard him, and I answered; 'Yes, sir, and all manner of ways: madam de Lesdiguières knows that I am in the right to think so.' This however was only bragging, for I am persuaded, that if I had been arrested that day, it had occasioned no manner of stirring. What I have been telling you of what was possible on either side, will without doubt appear contradictory to you, and I confess that it can be well conceived only by those who have seen not only the outside, but the inside of what passed.

The queen received me admirably well, and she desired the king to embrace me as being the man to whom he chiefly owed his return to Paris. These words, which were heard by a great many, caused me a real joy, because I thought that the queen would not have spoke them publicly, if she had had a design to have had me arrested. I staid at the circle till the queen went to council. As I was coming away, I met Jouy in.

in the anti-chamber, who told me that the duke had sent him to know whether it was true that they had admitted me at the council-board, and to command me to come to him. I met, as I was entering the duke's palace, Mr. d'Aligre coming out, who had been sent by the king to bid the duke in his name to leave Paris the next day, and to retire to Limours. This blunder has likewise been consecrated by the event, but in my opinion it is one of the greatest and most signal faults that has ever been committed in politics. You may tell me that they knew at court what sort of man the duke was; to which I will answer, that they knew him so little on this occasion, that he was just upon the point of resolving, or rather of executing what he had really resolved; which was to post himself in the market-place, to make barricadoes even to the gates of the Louvre, and to drive the king away from thence. I am persuaded that he had succeeded even with ease, if he had gone about it, and that the people had not stood hesitating if they had seen his royal highness in person, and his royal highness taking up arms only to prevent his being exiled. I have been accused to have stirred up the duke very much on this occasion. Take what follows as a true account of what I did.

At my coming to the duke, he appeared to me very much cast down, because he had put it into his head that the order which he had just then received from the king by Mr. d'Aligre, was only to amuse him, and make him believe that there was no thought of arresting him. It is impossible to express the agitation he was in. He fancied that every musket-shot he heard (and upon such occasions there are always many musket-shots) came from the regiment of guards that was sent to invest his palace. All those he sent to enquire, brought him word that all was quiet, but he would believe nobody, and he was at very instant looking out at a window, that he might the better hear whether there were any drums beating. At last he recovered a little courage, enough at least to ask me whether he might depend upon me? To which I answered only by this piece of a verse out of the Cid of Corneille: 'Any one, besides my father.'* — This word set him a laughing, which was very extraordinary when he was possessed with fear.

'Give

* The verse alluded to in this place is in a scene of Corneille's play, called *Le Cid*, where a father having lately received an affront, asks his son if he has courage? the son answers, 'Tout autre que mon pere, l'eprouveroit sur l'heure.' 'Any one but my father should have immediate proof of it.'

' Give me a proof of it, continued he, and come to a recon-
 ' ciliation with Mr. de Beaufort.' ' With all my heart,
 ' fir,' replied I. He embraced me, and went himself to open
 the door of the gallery that joined to the door of his bed-
 chamber, where he then was. I saw Mr. de Beaufort coming
 out of it, who took me round the neck, saying: ' Ask his
 ' royal highness what I was just now saying to him upon your
 ' account. I can distinguish honest men. Come, fir, let us
 ' drive away the Mazarinians for good and all, and let us send
 ' them to the devil.' The conversation opened in this manner,
 and the duke went on with it by an ambiguous speech, which
 in the mouth of Gaston * of Foix had been the fore-runner of
 some great action; but in the mouth of Gaston of France,
 was to me only the presage of nothing at all. Mr. de Beau-
 fort maintained, to the utmost of his power, the necessity
 and the possibility of the proposal he made, which was that
 the duke should march at break of day directly to the market-
 place, and that he should set up barricadoes there, to be
 carried on where it should be thought best. At this the duke
 turned to me, saying as they do at the parliament, Your
 advice, fir, as being eldest counsellor. I will set down here
 the very words I spoke, and the whole conversation, which I
 have transcribed from the original, as I dictated it to Mon-
 tresor at my coming home from the duke's, and which I have
 still by me written with his own hand.

' I think, indeed, fir, that I ought to speak in this con-
 ' juncture after the manner of the eldest counsellor of the
 ' parliament, that is, after the manner he did when he moved
 ' for public prayers for forty hours together. I know but of
 ' few conjunctures where there has been so much need of
 ' them. They would still be, fir, much more necessary to
 ' me than to any other, because I can give no advice but
 ' what must be attended with very dismal appearances, and
 ' even with terrible inconveniencies. If I advise you to bear
 ' with the injurious treatment which you have met with, will
 ' not the public, which is always inclined to think evil, have
 ' a reason or a pretence to say that I betray your interest, and
 ' that in giving you this advice I do but go on with the ob-
 ' stacles I have put to the designs of the prince? If I
 ' advise your royal highness to disobey, and to follow
 ' Mr. de Beaufort's views, will it be in my power to prevent
 ' people from thinking me to be a man who blows hot and
 ' cold;

* *Gaston of Foix, duke de Nemours, was one of the bravest
 men of his time. He was killed at the battle of Ravenna in
 the year 1512, upon Easter-day, aged about 23.*

cold; who is for peace when he is in hopes of gaining
 some advantages in treating of it; who is for war when he
 has been refused to treat of peace; who advises to destroy
 the city with fire and sword, and to set that fire to the gates
 of the Louvre, by enterprizing against the king's person?
 This is, sir, what will be said of me, and what you may
 yourself believe at certain instants. I might have room,
 after having foretold your royal highness perhaps above a
 thousand times, that your uncertainties would bring you to
 the condition you are now in; I might have room, I say,
 to intreat you with all the respect I owe to your royal high-
 ness, to excuse me from speaking upon a matter, which I
 have already said more upon than any body living. I will
 however make use but of half the right which I think I
 have, that is, that, though I do not design to determine the
 way which your royal highness ought to follow, I will expose
 to your view the inconveniencies of both ways, with the same
 freedom as if I had any thought of chusing one of the two
 for myself. If your royal highness obeys, you are an-
 swerable to the whole kingdom for all that it will afterwards
 suffer. I will not pretend to judge of what that suffering
 may come to, for who can forejudge of an evil that de-
 pends on the punitilio's of a Mazarin, on the impetuosity
 of an Ondedei, on the impertinence of an abbot Fouquet,
 and on the violence of a Servien? But, in short, you will
 be answerable for all that they shall do against the public,
 because the public will be persuaded that it has been in your
 power to prevent it. If you do not obey, you run the risk
 of overturning the state. — The duke interrupted me at
 that word, saying with great eagerness: "You do not come
 to the point, which is to know whether I am in a condition
 to disobey?" "I believe so, sir," answered I, "for I do not see
 which way the court can go about to make you obey. The
 king must come in person to attack you here, which will be
 no easy matter." Mr. de Beaufort enlarged upon the im-
 possibility of the attempt, and said so much that I perceived
 that the duke began likewise to think so, in which case he was
 altogether like to resolve upon sitting idle, his inclination
 leading him always that way. I therefore thought myself
 obliged by all manner of reasons to clear that point to him,
 which I did by telling him, that there was a distinction to be
 made; that I owned that the people were not likely to suffer
 for the present that the duke should be taken forcibly away
 from his own palace, but that the king might in time bring
 matters to a pass that should enable him to do it; that by
 accustoming

accustoming the people to acknowledge his authority, I made no doubt of his succeeding in it, and even quickly, because I made no doubt but that by using prudent measures, he would quickly accustom his people to obey his power; that that power would encrease at every instant; that it was already greater at ten at night, which was the hour that his watch had just then struck, than it was at five in the afternoon, and that the proof of this was evident by the king's rendering himself master of the gate of the conference, which he caused to be peaceably guarded, without any body's murmuring at it, by the single regiment of guards, who certainly durst not have come near it, if the duke had pleased to have caused it to be shut for a quarter of an hour only, between three and four in the afternoon; that if his royal highness suffered all other posts of Paris to be taken possession of in like manner; if he suffered the parliament to be abused, as it would be perhaps the next morning, I believed that perhaps the next afternoon there would be no great safety for him. This brought the duke again into his first fright, and made him cry out: 'You mean that I cannot keep myself on the defence?' 'No, sir,' answered I; 'you can do what you please, from this time till to-morrow morning; but I would not answer for what you can do to-morrow night.' Mr. de Beaufort, who thought that what I said was with a design to propose and to countenance the offensive part, was offering to second me, but I stopped him short by saying: 'I perceive, sir, that you do not take me right. I speak to his royal highness in the manner I do, only because I have observed that he thinks he may securely stay in his palace against the king's will. I have no advice to give, in the state in which matters are. It has always belonged to the duke to determine. It even belongs to him to propose, and our business is only to execute. It shall never be said that I have advised him, either to suffer the treatment he meets with, or to set up barricadoes to-morrow morning. I have already acquainted him with the reasons I have to follow this conduct. He has commanded me to expose to his view the inconveniencies which I perceive on both sides, and I have done it.' The duke gave me leave to speak as much as I would, and after having taken two or three turns about the chamber, he came back to me and said: 'If I resolve to dispute the ground, will you declare for me?' 'Yes, sir,' answered I, and without any hesitation. 'I ought to do it,'

I am

‘ I am attached to your service ; do but command, and you shall certainly see me obey. But I shall be grieved at heart at it, because in the condition things are in, it is impossible for an honest man not to be grieved, whatever you resolve upon.’ The duke, who was no otherwise good, than because he was an easy man, and who was not naturally tender, was moved however at what I told him. Tears came to his eyes ; he embraced me, and of a sudden he asked me whether I thought that he might render himself master of the king’s person. I told him that nothing in the world was more impossible, the gate of the conference being guarded as it was. Mr. de Beaufort proposed some means which were impracticable in every respect. He offered to go and post himself at the entrance of the Cours with the duke’s household. In short, he said many foolish things in my opinion. I persisted to speak and act in the manner I had done, and I perceived before I left the duke (and to say the truth, I perceived it with pleasure) that he would chuse to obey, for I observed in him all the appearance possible of joy for my forbearing to countenance the offensive part, notwithstanding which he spoke of nothing else the rest of the time we staid with him, and he even commanded us to get our friends in a readiness, and to come to his palace all of us at break of day. Mr. de Beaufort perceived as well as I, that the duke was against doing any thing, and as we were coming down stairs, he said to me : ‘ This gentleman is not capable of a vigorous action.’ ‘ And much less capable,’ said I, ‘ to go on with it, which makes me think you mad to propose it to him in the state in which things are.’ ‘ I find you hardly know him yet,’ replied he ; ‘ if I had not proposed it to him, he would have reproached me with it for ten years together.’

I found at my coming home Montresor, who was staying for me, and who made a mighty jest of my scruples, for so he called all the regard I had shewn in the conversation I had with the duke, which he writ down as I was dictating it to him. That gentleman assured me very positively that the duke had a greater desire to be at Limours than the queen had to send him thither ; but upon the whole, he owned that the court had committed a terrible fault in pushing him to it, because the fear of not thinking himself safe there, might easily put him upon undertaking what he would never have thought on, if the least regard had been shewn to him. The event has likewise justified that imprudence, which was so much

much the greater, because at court, where they had ground to look upon me as upon a man exasperated and full of distrust, they were, in my opinion, far from doing me the justice to believe that my sentiments for the state were so right as in truth they were. I am indeed convinced, that considering the duke's humour, which it was impossible to change; considering besides the division of the party, to which no remedy could be found by reason of an infinity of circumstances, and of the confusion, past, present, and to come, occasioned by that division; I am convinced, I say, that it had been impossible to support any thing that had been undertaken, which reason alone, setting aside all others, was sufficient to deter any body from advising the duke to undertake any thing. But I am no less convinced that the duke would for the present have succeeded in his enterprize, and that he had driven the king away from Paris. Many persons will take what I say for a paradox, but all great things that remain unexecuted appear always impracticable to those who are incapable of any thing great, and I am sure there were some who were not surprized at the barricadoes which the duke de Guise set up, who had looked upon the thing as ridiculous if they had heard it mentioned a quarter of an hour before they were raised. I do not know whether I have not already said in some place or other of these memoirs, that what has made some men the most remarkable by some great actions, is their having observed before others the critical minute which made the undertaking of them possible.

I return to the duke. He set out for Limours a little before break of day, and he even affected to be gone an hour sooner than he had appointed Mr. de Beaufort and me to come to him. We found Jouy, expecting us by his order at the gate of his palace, who told us from him, that he had had his reasons for doing as he did, which we should know some time or other, and that we had best come to an accommodation with the court if it was possible. As for my part, I was not surprized at his conduct: Mr. de Beaufort exclaimed much against it.

Upon the twenty-second, the king held his bed of justice at the Louvre. He caused there four declarations to be read. The first was that of the amnesty; the second was for the recalling the parliament to Paris; the third was an order for Mr. de Beaufort, as well as for messieurs de Rohan, Viole, de Thou, Broussel, Portail, Bitaud, Croisi, Machaut, Fleury, Martineau,

Martineau, and Perraut, to leave Paris; and in that same declaration the parliament was forbidden to meddle for the future with any matters of state; the fourth established a chamber of vacations. The parliament had agreed in the morning before they went to the king, that the company should make some instances to his majesty about having those of their body who were exiled, restored to their functions. They all of them obeyed their orders that same day. I went to the queen's in the afternoon, where, after her majesty had staid some time at the circle, she commanded me to go with her into her little closet. She used me extremely well; she told me that she knew that I had softened both people's minds and affairs, as much as I had it in my power; that she believed that I had done it still more readily and more publicly, if I had not been obliged to observe many regards with my friends, who were not all of them in the same sentiments; that she pitied me, and would help me out of the trouble I was in. You find in all this a great deal of civility, and even of appearing kindness. But see what it tended to at the bottom. She was more incensed at me than ever, because Beloy, who belonged to the duke, but who always was secretly attached to some other, and who had renewed his former measures with the court since the affairs of the prince had been declining, had sent her notice in the morning as soon as she was awake, that I had offered to the duke to do whatever he would command me. Not that he knew any thing of the particulars of what passed the evening before between the duke, Mr. de Beaufort, and me: But entering with Jouy into the duke's chamber as soon as we had left him, the duke, whom they found both moved and troubled, said to them: 'I might, if I pleased, prepare a fine dance for the Spanish woman.' Beloy, either maliciously, or moved only by curiosity, answered the duke: 'But, sir, can your royal highness depend intirely upon the cardinal de Retz?' 'The cardinal de Retz,' replied the duke, 'is an honest man, and will not fail me.' Jouy, who had heard this, informed me of it in the morning, and I made no doubt but that Beloy had likewise sent an account of it to the queen. But the queen could not be informed that at the same time that I had offered to the duke what my honour obliged me to, I had omitted nothing of what my honour likewise gave me leave to do, to prevent the overturning of the state. At the very moment that Jouy acquainted me with this, I made a serious reflection upon the scruples which

Montresor

Montresor had made a jest of and blamed me for, the night before. It is true, that such scruples meet with no success in courts, at least commonly; but there are persons who prefer to success, the inward satisfaction they find in themselves.

You would have been surprized at the manner in which I answered the queen, if I had not given you beforehand this little account, which contains the reasons I had to speak to her as I did. I don't mean as to matter of sincerity, for you have seen that even before, I seldom failed of using the like in speaking to her. I told her that I had a sensible joy to have at last met with the moment, which I had for so long a time so passionately wished for, which was to serve her without any restriction: that so long as his royal highness had been engaged in affairs, I could not follow my own inclination by reason of my engagements with him, in which she knew that I had never deceived her: that if I had had the honour to speak in private to her majesty the day before, I would have discovered to her freely, as my custom was, the manner in which I was obliged in honour to behave myself with the duke: that his royal highness having left Paris, fully resolved to meddle no more with any public affairs, had by that freed me from my engagements, and restored me to the liberty of following now my own inclination, which was such a pleasure to me that I could not well enough express it to her majesty. She answered me in the most civil manner, but I perceived that she would fain have put me upon discovering the dispositions in which the duke was. I easily satisfied her, and she was pleased with what I said; for I assured her, and it was certainly true, that the duke was resolved to keep quiet in his solitude. 'We must not suffer him to stay there,' replied she; 'he may be useful to the king and to the state: it is necessary that you should go and fetch him back.' I was extremely surprized at this, because I must confess that I expected nothing like it, and that at first I could not well comprehend what her meaning was. But I quickly found it out, not that she explained it to me clearly, but by her giving me to understand, that the duke having satisfied to what he owed to the king's dignity, by the obedience he had shewn, it was in his power to re-establish himself better than ever in the king's favour, by crowning the good conduct he had followed with just and reasonable concessions, in which he might even find his own account. You see that there was nothing very obscure in these expressions.

sions. When the queen perceived that I answered only in general terms, she closed herself up, and appeared quite changed, not only in respect to the matter we were upon, but to the manner in which she had at first treated me. I saw her blush, and she began to speak more coldly, which was always with her a sign of being angry. She came to herself however in a little time, and she asked me whether I continued to confide in madam de Chevreuse? To which I answered, that I continued to be her very humble servant. She took me up at that word very hastily, and, as I thought, she did it with some pleasure. 'I understand you,' said she; 'you confide more in the princess Palatine, and you are in the right.' 'I put a great trust,' replied I, 'in the princess Palatine; but I beseech your majesty to give me leave to rely on no body but yourself.' 'With all my heart,' said she, pretty kindly in appearance: 'adieu; the whole nobility of France are within staying for me.'

I must desire you to give me leave to inform you in this place of some particulars that are necessary to convince you, that persons who are at the head of great affairs meet with no less trouble from those of their own party than from enemies. The enemies I had, though extremely powerful in the state, the one by his birth, his merit, and his faction, and the other by his favour, had not been able, with all their efforts, to oblige me to quit my post; and I may say, without vanity, that I had kept it, and even with dignity, by sailing only a little with the wind, if the different interests, or rather the different chimæras of my friends, had not put me, against my will, upon following a conduct which occasioned my ruin, because it persuaded the court that I was resolved to hold it out against wind and tide. To let you into these particulars, which are pretty curious, it is necessary, in my opinion, that I should let you likewise into some particulars that relate to a certain number of persons who were called my friends. I make use of that expression, because many that went by that name were not really such.

I had not broke, for example, with madam de Chevreuse nor with Laigues. Noirmoutier had left nothing undone to reconcile himself to me, and at the instance of all my friends I had been obliged to receive him and to live civilly with him. Montresor, who at all adventures had declared to me an hundred times in his life that he was in my interest in dependance only of the house of Guise, pretended a right however

to enter into my affairs, because he had been let into the secret of some of them. That right, which consists properly in having a hand in negotiations, he had in common with the persons I have just now named. He made not the like use of it in this last conjuncture as the others did, though he spoke as much and more about it. He was satisfied to appear discontented, and to complain when he came to me in the evening, but he took no ill steps towards the court, as Mr. de Noirmoutier did, who to gain some credit with cardinal Mazarin, whom he went to see upon the frontiers, shewed him one of my letters, the date of which he had falsified, and wherein I had formerly charged him with a commission, which, as he pretended, had relation to the present time. The cardinal suspected the cheat, by reason of some circumstances which I have forgot, and he never forgave it that gentleman. Madam de Chevreuse did not use me in that manner, but having found at court neither the regard nor the trust which she expected, she was seeking after some intrigue, and she would have been glad, at the king's coming back to Paris, to have meddled with my concerns which appeared to be of consequence, because they were looked upon as a thing previous and necessary to the return of the cardinal. Laigues, who had treated me pretty freely before my going to Compiègne, began to see me again regularly, and almost upon the ancient foot; and mademoiselle de Chevreuse herself made some advances to be reconciled to me, by her mother's order, if I am not very much mistaken. She had the finest eyes in the world, and a certain art of turning them, that was admirable and altogether peculiar to her. I just took notice of them, and no more, the evening she arrived at Paris, and I lived civilly both with her and with her mother, as well as with Laigues, and that was all. One might think that the conduct I followed on this occasion would have been enough to have served my turn; but it proved not so, and there was a reason for it, which is, that the advances that those who acknowledge their ill conduct make to the great man they have offended, will infallibly always turn to his disadvantage, if he rejects those advances, or receives them but slightly, it being hardly possible that those who think themselves slighted should not preserve a resentment for it, and have a sting at him, at least in their heat. I know that Laigues used me in that manner, and even grossly, before several persons and on several occasions.

I have

I have heard nothing like it of madam de Chevreuse, which is not to be wondered at, because she has a natural goodness in her, or rather a natural easiness. As for mademoiselle de Chevreuse, she could not pardon me the resistance I had offered to her eyes; and the abbot Fouquet, who served at that time his quarter with her, said, after that lady's death, to a person of quality from whom I had it, that she hated me as much as she had loved me. I can take my oath with all manner of assurance, that I had never given her the least occasion for it. The poor lady died of a malignant fever, that carried her off in four and twenty hours, before her physicians so much as dreamed that she was in the least danger. I saw her for a moment with the dutchess her mother, who was by her bed-side, and who little thought that she was to lose her daughter the next morning by break of day.

I had a second sort of friends, that is, persons who kept themselves wrapt up in the party of the Fronde, and who at the time that that party was subdivided, had stuck particularly close to me. This second sort was composed of persons of several degrees, who all agreed however in a point, which was, that they all expected that my accommodation with the court would turn very much to their particular advantage; whereby they were already disposed to believe, that if I did not do for them what they expected, it would be, not for want of power, but for want of will. These sort of persons are extremely troublesome, because in a great party there is always a great number to whom it is impossible to discover all that the heads of the party are able or not able to do, and to whom it is consequently impossible to justify what is done. That evil is without any remedy, and is of the nature of those in which one ought to seek a satisfaction in one's own conscience only. Mine has been all my life long more tender upon that article than it is convenient to a man who has meddled with so great affairs as I have done. There are but few matters wherein scruples are of less service. It is true, that by the event I suffered no inconveniencies in the present conjuncture; but I had already suffered enough in my imagination.

The third sort of friends whom I had at that time, was a chosen number of persons of quality, who were united to me both by interest and by friendship, who were in my confidence, and with whom I faithfully concerted what I was to

do. These were messieurs de Brissac, de Bellievre, and de Caumartin, with whom Mr. de Montresor, as I have already said, joined himself, by reason of many past affairs in which he had had a share. There was not one in this little number that had not a right to my friendship. The quality of Mr. de Brissac, and his attachment to me in my most troublesome affairs, obliged me to have a greater regard for his interest than for my own, and so much the more that he had not had the advantage stipulated for him in relation to the government of Anjou, at the time that the princes were arrested. I can't say however that it was either the fault of the court or mine, the treaty which he was entered into failing only for want of the money which he could not pay. But, in short, he had had nothing, and it was just, at least in respect to me, that he should be provided for. The president de Bellievre had had for some time the place of first president in view, but being a man of good sense, he thought no more of it as soon as he saw the court get the uppermost; and the very day that the duke and the prince sent messieurs de Rohan, de Chavigny, and Goulas, to St. Germain, he said these words to me, 'I must do like the snail, retire within my shell; there is nothing more to expect, and I desist from all pretensions.' He was as good as his word; and a great and dangerous deflection that fell at that time on one of his eyes, served as a pretence to it, and made his retirement not seem strange.

Mr. de Caumartin went into Poitou to be married, a month or five weeks before the king resolved upon returning, and he continued there when the court arrived at Paris. He had certainly had a greater share than any one in my most secret affairs, he had acted with a greater faithfulness and capacity, and even without any private interest, except that which his honour put him upon, on an occasion in which he knew better than any man living, that there was nothing real in the case. The injustice done him upon that subject, obliges me to explain the particulars of it to you.

You have seen, in the second volume of these memoirs, that the duke was drawn on by the prince to ask the queen for the removal of the sub-ministers, and that I had prevented his royal highness from taking that step, if he would have believed me, because it was in effect good for nothing at all, and worse for him than for any body else. Laigues, who looked upon the sub-ministers as on men undone, and who was the man in the world upon whose fancy these novelties

worked

worked the most, put it into his head to procure the place of secretary at war, which Mr. le Tellier had, to de Nouveau. Madam de Chevreuse mentioned that chimæra in the presence of the little abbot de Bernay, who reported it to Mr. de Caumartin. This last was in the right to dislike the thing. He came to my house, and asked me if I knew any thing of that design. I smiled, and told him that he must take me for a madman by the question he asked me. That he was not ignorant that nobody knew better than I that we were not in a condition to create secretaries of state; * and besides, that if we were in a condition to do it, our choice would not fall upon Mr. de Nouveau. Caumartin exclaimed much against madam de Chevreuse and Laigues, which he had a right to do: 'For though I am fully persuaded,' said he, 'that what they propose is impertinent, it shews however that I am not to depend upon their friendship.' 'You are much in the right,' answered I, 'and I will to-morrow tell them freely my opinion about it. At the time,' added I, 'that I am doing my utmost with the duke to prevent his pushing Mr. le Tellier too far, they will be the cause by their ill-conduct, that le Tellier will think that it is I that am working his ruin.'

I upbraided them both with it the next day, but they denied the fact; this made a noise, and that noise came to the ears of Mr. le Tellier, who thought by it that we were already in dispute about his place. He never forgave it, as it has appeared to me since, either to Mr. de Caumartin, or to me. Most enmities that are seen at courts, have no better ground than this; and I have observed, that those that are the worst grounded are the most obstinate. The reason of it is plain; for offences which occasion enmities of this nature, consisting chiefly in the imagination, never fail to grow bigger and bigger, in a soil which always abounds but too much in evil humours, the proper food of all enmities. Forgive me this small digression, which even is not unnecessary to the subject I am treating of, since it shews you that I was still the more obliged not to forget Mr. de Caumartin's interest in my accommodation. It was not that gentleman

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however

* There are four secretaries of state in France, as has been explained before, of whom one hath the management of the war affairs, and is for that reason most commonly called secretary at war.

however that obstructed it. He very well knew that there was not stuff enough left to be prodigal of. He had told me several times before he went into Poitou, that it was hard, but that it was necessary that we should suffer, even from the ill conduct of our enemies: that as for his part, he ceased to look for any private advantage, and that the only thing to be minded now was to save the ship, in which he might again set sail, as opportunities should present: that that ship, which was myself, could not be saved in the state into which things were fallen by the irresolution of the duke, but by standing a-loof, and sailing eastward, that is, towards Rome. I remember that the day he took his leave of me, before he went into Poitou, he spoke to me in this manner: 'You stand now but upon the point of a needle, and if they knew at court their power in respect to you, they would use you as they will do others. Your courage makes you hold a countenance that deceives and disquiets them. Make use of this instant to get what will be of service to you for your post at Rome; they will do upon that article all that you desire.'

Of these few friends, Mr. de Montrefor was then the only one left; and he was continually saying, That as for him, he had no kind of pretensions. He had even turned into ridicule a letter he had received out of the country from Chandénier, who writ him word that he made no doubt but that I should restore him to his post, * and make him a duke and peer in this conjuncture. It was, however, this Mr. de Montrefor who caused all the trouble, and who did it without being moved by any private interest, but only by a mere whim. One evening that we were all sitting round my fire, Joly, who was present, said, upon occasion of something that was spoken in the conversation, that he had received a letter from Mr. de Caumartin. He read it, and that letter was full of the sentiments which I have mentioned, and which were even expressed with a great deal of force. I observed that Montrefor, who did not naturally love him, appeared with an air full of mystery, mixed with sourness, at the hearing it, and being extremely well acquainted with his manners and his humour, I let some words fall on purpose to oblige him to explain himself. It was no difficult matter, for he

cried

* Of captain of the guards du corps, or life guards, of which he had been deprived for some time.

cried out of a sudden, and even swearing, ' We are not men to be led by the nose ; he is ' a villain that says that his eminence ought or can come to an honourable accommodation except he procures something advantageous for his friends. He that says so, has a mind to engross all for himself.' These words, added to the peevish humour I had observed in him for some days against the princess Palatine, convinced me that he thought that Caumartin, who was a particular friend of that princess's, had taken some private measures with her, tending to his own profit exclusively of the rest. I did my best to undeceive him, but without success. He succeeded better in deceiving the others, for he brought the like suspicion into the head of Mr. de Brissac, who was indeed a man of wax, and the most susceptible of any impressions of any one I ever knew. Mr. de Brissac inspired the like thought to madam Lesdiguieres, who loved him entirely at that time. Persons who are in these bad dispositions, never fail to support them with all manner of ideas that will serve to persuade them that a conduct, opposite to that they stand in fear of, is not only a thing possible, but even easy. A like fancy gets into the heads of others, and is communicated to the subalterns of the party. The secret is whispered about from ear to ear, and causes at first but a little murmuring ; that murmuring changes into a noise which causes three or four pernicious effects, both in respect to one's own party, and in respect to the party one opposes. This is exactly what happened to me, and I was surprized to see all my friends divided upon what should or what I should not do, as well as upon what I could or what I could not do, which brought the court to look upon me as upon a man who either pretended to share the ministry, or to sell my pretensions very dear. I perceived and felt the danger of the situation I was in, and yet I resolved to run all the risk, to which I was moved by that same principle which has caused me all my life long to take too much upon me. There is nothing so pernicious, according to the rules of politics. We seldom have any thanks given us for it ; and it is certain that of all things, good intentions ought the least to be over-stretched. I have met with great inconveniencies from not observing that rule, both in matters of state, and in domestic affairs. But every body will allow, that it is a very hard matter to forsake what flatters at once our inclination and our morals. That is the reason why I could hardly ever repent the

the following that conduct, though it has cost me my imprisonment, and all the consequences of it, which have not been little. If I had followed a contrary one, by accepting the offers of Mr. Servien, I should have got out of trouble, and have avoided all the misfortunes which have since almost crushed me. I could not indeed have avoided at first an inconvenience which always attends those, who being at the head of great affairs, get themselves out of them, without procuring some advantages to those who are engaged with them. Time would have put an end to their complaints, which fortune might even have turned to my advantage by some good events. I can perceive all this, but without regretting it, having been led with pleasure to an opposite conduct, by the motive which I have mentioned. And considering that, except religion and good manners, all the rest ought, in my opinion, to be looked upon as indifferent, I think I may reasonably be well satisfied with what I have done. I refused, as I have told you, Mr. Servien's proposals, which were, that the king would grant me the superintendancy of his affairs in Italy, with a pension of fifty thousand crowns a year; that I should receive one hundred thousand crowns towards paying my debts, and fifty thousand for the furniture of a palace at Rome, where I was to stay for three years, after which I was left at liberty to return to my post at Paris. I did not, however, refuse Mr. Servien point blank. I continued to live civilly with him; he came to my house, and I went to his. We entered into a negotiation, but he soon judged that it would come to nothing, because his power did not extend to any thing that related to the interest of my friends, though I had felt his pulse upon that subject, to which he was opposite at the bottom. The princess Palatine, in whom I confided most, was not fully persuaded at first, that nothing was to be done for my friends; but she perceived at last, that there was even something worse than that upon the anvil, and that the ill offices of Servien, and of the abbot Fouquet, extended further than to the breaking my negotiation. She informed me of it, and she declared to me that she would no longer meet me at Joly's, where she was used to come to me in a hackney-chair, by a back-door, between ten and eleven at night. She convinced me that there was some danger for me in these secret conferences, and she frankly told me, that I ought to treat with the cardinal himself, because all the subalterns were against me, one for one reason,

reason, another for another. Madam de Lesdiguières sent me word, that all I had to do was to set a good face upon the matter, and to stay at my own house : that the cardinal, who was amusing himself on the frontiers upon trifling matters in Mr. de Turenne's army, where you may be sure he had but little to do, and who was impatient to be at Paris, but who durst not come thither so long as I remained there, would build a golden bridge for my going out of it, and would grant me whatever I should ask him. The first president had spoke to madam de Lesdiguières in that strain, and had told her, that to his knowledge they wished for nothing more at court than to come to an accommodation with me, which occasioned Joly, as I remember, to say to me, 'A new blow.' It was a blow indeed ; for though all these reports did not persuade me, they were an obstacle to my concluding any thing with Servien, and they at last obliged me to follow the princess Palatine's advice, which was to treat with the cardinal himself. I wrote to the bishop of Châlons, to desire him to go to his eminence, and to declare plainly my demands to him, which were the government of Anjou for Mr. de Brissac, and some posts likewise for messieurs de Montmorenci, d'Argenteuil, de Chateau Brian, &c. There was no manner of difficulty as to these last, and I am persuaded there had been but little in relation to Mr. de Brissac. Langlade, who passed just at that time through Châlons, retarded undesignedly the bishop's journey, by telling him that the cardinal was to be at such a place upon such a day. That delay was the cause of my imprisonment, because Servien and the abbot Fouquet hastened it, by telling the queen that there was too much danger in leaving things in the state in which they were. They never ceased to buz in her ears that I continued my correspondence with the annuitants, that I did my best to inflame them, and that I was likewise forming cabals with the trained-band officers. An accident happened, on the thirteenth of November, which contributed very much to incense the court. The king held his bed of justice at the parliament, in order to have his declaration, whereby he declared the prince of Condé guilty of high treason, registered there ; and he had sent to me, the day before, Saintot, lieutenant of the ceremonies, to command me in his name to be present there. My answer to Saintot was, that I most humbly begged leave of his majesty to represent to him, that considering upon what terms I was with the prince, I thought that it would

would be neither just nor becoming, that I should give my vote in a deliberation upon which his condemnation depended. Saintot replied to this, that somebody having told the queen that I would use that argument to excuse myself, her majesty had answered that it was good for nothing; and that Mr. de Guise, who owed his liberty * to the instances which the prince had made in his behalf, would be present notwithstanding. I told Saintot upon this, that if I was of the same profession as Mr. de Guise, I should glory in imitating the great actions he had lately done at Naples. You can't imagine how much the queen was exasperated at my excuse. It was explained to her as a convincing proof of the regard I had for the prince, and what I did purely and sincerely out of a principle of civility, to which I am still persuaded that I was obliged, passed with her for a certain proof of the measures which I had already taken, or was upon the point of taking with him. Nothing was falser, and yet nothing was more believed; and the queen was so strongly persuaded of it, that she resolved to play quit or double to get rid of me.

Touteville, a captain in the guards, and one of the abbot Fouquet's satellites, hired a house pretty near madam de Pomereux's, in which he designed to put a set of men to attack me. Le Fay, an officer in the artillery, and one of those who had assisted at the ridiculous assembly at the palais-royal, insinuated himself with Pau, who was at that time clerk of my kitchen, and whom you have seen since my steward, in order to be informed of him at what hours I went out at night. Pradelle had an order, signed by the king's own hand, to attack me in the streets, and to take me dead or alive. That which was given to the mareschal de Vitri, when he killed the mareschal d'Ancre, was not more strict. I have heard of this order given to Pradelle only since my return into France, by means of the archbishop of Rheims, who said two or three years ago to the bishop of Châlons and

* *The duke de Guise had been taken prisoner at Naples by the Spaniards, and removed to Spain, where he was kept in prison for several years, and in all likelihood had remained there longer, if the prince of Condé, who had now joined the Spaniards, had not interposed his good offices with them in the duke's behalf; notwithstanding which, the duke, after he had recovered his liberty, refused to join with the prince, or to enter into his party.*

and to Mr. de Caumartin, that he had seen the original of it. I had some notice given me time enough of Touteville's design, but I looked upon it to be but the view of a hair-brained man, who complained of me for having favoured, to his prejudice, a friend of mine, who courted one Mrs. Darmet. I ought at least to have taken a greater notice about Le Fay's offers to the clerk of my kitchen, but I looked upon it as an effect only of the unquietness of the subalterns, who would set a watch upon my actions. Mr. de Brissac told me one day, that I ought to look to myself with a greater precaution; that he received informations from all hands relating to me, and that he had that moment received a billet from an unknown hand, entreating him to prevent my going that day to Rambouillet, where we had taken a fancy to go and walk, though we were very far gone in November. I made no doubt but that this billet was writ by somebody belonging to the court, with a design to sound both my courage and my strength. I went thither, accompanied by two hundred gentlemen, and I found there a great many officers of the guards, and among others Rubantel, a trusty confident of the abbot Fouquet's. I don't know whether their design was to attack me, but they found me in a condition not to be attacked. They saluted me with a great deal of respect; I entered into conversation with some of them whom I knew, and I came back to my house as well pleased with myself as if I had committed no fault. But what I did was certainly wrong, and was only likely to incense the court the more against me. It is natural upon such motives to grow angry and to fall into passions, in which it is very hard to preserve a right conduct. What I am going to tell you will shew you further in what my conduct was defective.

I designed to preach during the advent, at least upon Sundays and holydays, in the most considerable churches in Paris; and I began upon All-Saints day at St. Germain's, which is the king's parish. Their majesties did me the honour to assist at my sermon, and I went the next day to return them thanks. But the informations I received about the danger I ran increasing daily, I ceased to go to the Louvre, in which I committed a fault, in my opinion; for I believe that that circumstance contributed more than any other to determine the queen to cause me to be arrested. I only say that I believe it, it being impossible to know it for certain, except one knew first whether cardinal Mazarin had designed

before-hand that I should be arrested, or whether he only approved of the thing after it was done. It is what I could never precisely know, those that belonged to the court having since spoken to me very differently about it. Lionne has all along told me, that the cardinal had formed no design against my person; and somebody, whom I have forgot, has assured me, that he had heard Mr. le Tellier say the contrary. What is most certain is, that had it not been for a circumstance, which I shall mention immediately, I had not gone to the Louvre, but had kept upon my guard, so that notwithstanding the order given to Pradelle, I had in all likelihood puzzled the matter long enough at least, to expect cardinal Mazarin's answer. I was advised from all hands to keep at home, and I remember that Mr. d'Hocqueville told me one evening, with some anger, 'You have been able to keep within doors during three weeks upon account of the prince: is it possible that you can't stay at home during three days upon account of the king?'

I will tell you what prevented me from doing it. Madam de Lesdiguières, whom I had reason to think very well informed, and who was in effect commonly so, pressed me extremely to go to the Louvre, saying, that I could not but own, that supposing there was no danger for me in going, it would be best for me to go for many reasons. I agreed to what she said, if indeed I might go there with safety, which was a supposition I could not allow. 'Are you,' said she, 'hindered from going by that consideration only?' 'By no other,' answered I. 'Then you may go to-morrow,' replied she, 'for I am very well informed of all the game that is playing there.' That game was, that they had held there a secret council, in which, after great contests, it had been resolved that they should come to an accommodation with me, and should even give me satisfaction in relation to my friends. I am fully convinced that madam de Lesdiguières did not deceive me, neither am I less persuaded that the mareschal de Villeroi did not deceive madam de Lesdiguières. But the mareschal was himself deceived, which has been the reason that I have never spoke to him of it. I was drawn in this manner to go to the Louvre upon the 19th of December, and I was arrested in the queen's anti-chamber by Mr. de Villequier, who served his quarter as captain of the guards. Mr. d'Hacqueville was very near to have prevented it. He was walking in the court as I came into the Louvre, and joining

ing me as I came out of my coach, we went together to madam de Villeroi, where I designed to stay till the king could be waited upon. That gentleman left me there, and went up stairs, where he met with Montmege, who told him, that it was in every body's mouth that I was going to be arrested. Mr. d'Hacqueville hearing this, came down stairs as fast as he could to inform me of it, and to carry me away by the kitchen-court, which was next to madam de Villeroi's apartment. I was gone up, but he missed me but a moment, which moment had infallibly procured my liberty. I am as much obliged to Mr. d'Hocqueville as if he had got me safe away; but I know that gentleman too well not to be convinced that it was otherwise with him. Mr. de Villequier carried me to an apartment where the officers of the king's kitchen brought me some dinner. They took it mighty ill at court that I had dined very heartily, so great is the corruption and baseness of courtiers. I had more reason to take it ill to have my pockets turned inside out, as they do to pick-pockets. Mr. de Villequier had orders to do it, though it was an uncommon thing. They found there nothing but a letter of the king of England's, * who charged me to make some attempt at Rome towards raising him a sum of money there. The noise of this letter was immediately spread up and down the court; and a man of quality, whose name I shall forbear to mention in regard to one of his brothers who is my friend, thought to make his court by saying, that it must needs be a letter from the protector and not the king of England. How base that was! About three in the afternoon I was carried all along the great gallery of the Louvre, and I was brought down the stairs of the pavilion of the dutchess of Orleans. We met with one of the king's coaches, into which I was put, having with me Mr. de Villequier, and five or six officers of the life-guards. The coach was driven at first towards the city, but it turned of a sudden towards the gate of the conference. It was guarded by the mareschal d'Albrer, at the head of the gens d'armes; by Mr. de la Vauguyon, at the head of the light-horse; and by Mr. de Vennes, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of guards,

who

* The whole account, in relation to this letter, is inserted in the fourth volume, taken from the earl of Clarendon's history of the rebellion.

who had with him eight companies of that regiment. As they designed to carry me out by the gate of St. Anthony, and as they must go near two other gates before they got thither, they had posted at each gate a battalion of Switzers, who presented their pikes to the town as we went by. You see by this that there was a great deal of precaution used, and that without any manner of need. Not one soul stirred in the city. There appeared there sorrow and consternation, but it was not carried to any commotion, either because the consternation was in effect too great, or because those that were well affected to me were discouraged to find nobody appear that would head them. I have heard since people speak differently about it. Le Houx, a butcher, but a man of credit with the people, has told me that all the butchers of the place Aux-Veaux were upon the point of taking up arms; and that if the duke de Brissac had not assured them that that was a sure way to have me murdered, he had set up barricadoes at that quarter with the greatest ease possible. L'Espinal has told me the like of the whole street of Montmartre. But as I think, the marquis de Château-Repaut, who was that whole day very busy in attempting to stir up the people, has told me that he found no room to do it; and I know for certain, that Malclerc, who ran up and down, to the same purpose, over the bridges of Notre-Dame and of St. Michael, which were at my disposal, found all the women there crying, and all the men in a fright, and incapable of doing any thing. However nobody can be answerable for what might have happened, had there been but a sword drawn. When there is none drawn on these occasions, every body judges that nothing could have been done; and if there had been no barricadoes at the taking of Mr. de Broussel, those that had spoke the least word, even of the possibility of the thing, had been laughed at. I arrived at Vincennes betwixt eight and nine at night, and the mareschal d'Albret having asked me as I came out of the coach, if I had no message to send to the king; I answered him, that I should think it a want of respect in me if I took that liberty.

I was carried into a great room where there was neither hangings nor bed. The bed that was set up about eleven at night was of Indian silk, which was not very proper for the winter season. I slept very well, which ought not to be attributed to any firmness, because misfortunes naturally produce

duce that effect on me. * I have experienced in more than one occasion, that it keeps me awake in the day-time, and inclines me to sleep at night. This is not, as I have said, the effect of any firmness of mind, having observed, after a thorough examination, that it proceeds from the heaviness into which I fall, when the reflections I make upon any thing that troubles me are not diverted by my struggling against them. I take a mighty pleasure in unfolding myself to you, if I may use that expression, and in giving you an account of the most secret motions of my heart.

I was obliged to rise the next morning without any fire, there being no wood to make any; but the three exempts of the guards that were with me when I came first to the castle, were so kind as to assure me that I should have some the next day. He that was left to stay in the room with me, kept the next day the wood for himself, and so he did for a whole fortnight together, that I was left without any fire at Christmas in a room as big as a church. That exempt's name was Croisat, he was a Gascon, and had been, at least as the report went, valet-de-chambre to Servien. I do not believe that it had been possible to have found his like in the whole world. He took away from me my linen, my cloaths, my shoes, and I was sometimes obliged to stay in bed for eight or ten days together, for want of any thing to put on. I do not believe that I could have been treated in that manner, without an express order for it, and without a formed design to kill me with grief. I armed myself against that design, and I resolved not to die at least that sort of death. I diverted myself at first in composing the life of my exempt, who was as great a rogue, without any exaggeration, as Lazarillo of Tormes, † or Buscon. I brought him at last to cease to torment me, by taking no manner of notice of whatever he could say or do. I never appeared angry at him, I never complained of any thing, and never gave him the least room to think that

* *Mr. de St. Evremont, speaking of mademoiselle de Beverweert, sister to the late countess of Arlington, &c. says, that she never slept so well as when she was under some great affliction. See the works of St. Evremont, published in Holland by Mr. des Maizeaux, volume the fourth, p. 55.*

† *Two Spanish rogues, whose lives and actions have been written in Spanish, and have been translated in most other languages.*

that I was offended at any thing he said, though he said not one word but with an intent to vex me. He caused a little garden of two or three fathom to be made in the yard belonging to the tower, and as I was asking him what he intended to do with it, he told me that he designed to have asparagus in it, which you must observe are three years a growing. This was one of his softest sayings, and I was regaled every day with twenty such, which I took care to swallow with as much ease as possible, but that did but increase his brutishness, because he said that I laughed at him.

The instances of the chapter of the cathedral, and of all the curates of Paris, who acted for me to the utmost of their power, though my uncle, who was the weakest man in the world, and jealous of me even to the making himself ridiculous, supported them but very faintly; their instances, I say, obliged the court to explain themselves about the causes of my imprisonment, which was done by the mouth of the chancellor. That magistrate declared to these several bodies, in the presence of the king and of the queen-mother, that his majesty had caused me to be arrested for my own good only, and to hinder me from executing what there was room to believe I had in view. The chancellor has told me since my return into France, that it was he that persuaded the queen to approve that he should give that turn to this affair, under pretence of eluding more plausibly the demand which the church of Paris made in a body, either to bring me to a trial, or to set me at liberty; and he added, that his true design had been to serve me, in obliging the court to acknowledge my innocence, at least as to matters past,

It is certain that my friends made a mighty use of that answer of the chancellor's, which was set off as it ought, in two or three very ingenious pamphlets. Mr. de Caumartin did, in this conjuncture and in those that followed, all that the most sincere friendship and the most refined honour could inspire him with. Mr. d'Hocqueville redoubled his care and his zeal for me. The chapter of Nôtre-Dame caused an anthem to be sung every day publicly and expressly for my liberty. Not one of the curates, except that of St. Bartholomew, forsook me. Sorbonne signalized itself, and even many of the regulars declared openly and vigorously for me. The bishop of Châlons warmed the hearts and the minds of others, by his reputation and his example. This kind of general stirring obliged the court to use me a little better than they had done at first. I was allowed a certain number of books, but without

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out any ink or paper, and I had likewise a valet de chambre and a physician granted me; upon which occasion I must not omit a circumstance somewhat remarkable. This physician, who was a man of merit and of reputation in his profession, and whose name was Vacherot, told me the same day that he arrived at Vincennes, that Mr. de Caumartin had charged him to inform me, that Goisel, an advocate who had foretold the liberty of Mr. de Beaufort, had assured him that I should have mine in the month of March, but in an imperfect manner, and that I should not have it fully and intirely till the month of August. You will find by the sequel that the prediction was true.

I applied myself very much to study during the whole time of my imprisonment at Vincennes, which lasted fifteen months, and I employed in it not only the days, but even the nights. I made a particular study of the Latin tongue, to which I found that it is impossible to apply one's self too much, because that study comprehends all others. I made some observations upon the Greek tongue, and upon the ninth decade of Livy, which I had very much liked formerly, and in which I met again with a new relish. In imitation of Boëtius, I composed the consolation of Theology, wherein I shewed that every prisoner ought to endeavour to make himself the Vincetus in Christo, which St. Paul speaks of. I gathered in a kind of *Silva* a great many things upon different subjects, and among others an application for the use of the church of Paris, of what was contained in the book of the acts of the church of Milan, and I intitled that work *Partus Vincennarum*. My exempt omitted nothing to interrupt the quiet of my studies, and to give me as much vexation as he thought he could. He told me one day, that the king had ordered him to carry me upon the platform to take the air. When he thought that I took some pleasure there, he then told me with a joy that he could not have dissembled if he would, that he had received a counter-order. My answer was, that it came very pat, because the air which was too sharp upon the platform, had brought a pain into my head. Four days after he proposed to me to go down and see my guards play at tennis. I desired to be excused, because the air would be too piercing, but he forced me to go, saying that the king, who took a greater care of my health than I imagined, had commanded him to make me use some exercise. Ceasing afterwards to carry me thither, he told me for his excuse, that he had some reasons for it which he could not discover

discover to me. I had indeed put myself above these little chicanes, which I despised at the bottom, and was not moved with. But I confess that I had not the same strength of mind, in respect to the substance of the thing, which was my imprisonment; and when I came every morning when I was awake, to consider that I was in the power of my enemies, I found nothing in me that relished of the stoick. I kept this trouble hid from every soul, and that was the reason that it became extreme. The hiding of it was an effect of that pride which is natural to man, and I remember that I was twenty times a day thinking to myself that an imprisonment for state matters was the very worst sort of imprisonment.

You have already seen that I made use of study to divert my trouble. I sometimes made use likewise of other means. I had some rabbits upon the platform; I kept turtles in one of the turrets, and pigeons in the other. The continual instances of the church of Paris procured me from time to time these innocent diversions, which, though mixed with a thousand chicanes, amused me however, and the more agreeably, because I had often thought upon them, when it came into my mind to consider what I should pass my time in, if ever I came to be arrested. These diversions however did not amuse me so much as to hinder me from thinking earnestly upon the means of escaping out of prison, and the correspondence which I had all along with my friends gave me room to think of it, and to hope for some success.

The ninth day of my imprisonment, one of my two guards named Carpentier, approached near me whilst his comrade was asleep (for I was watched both night and day at least by one of the two) and he slipped a note into my hand, which at first sight I knew to come from madam de Pomereux. The note contained only these words: 'Trust the bearer, and write a line by him.' He then gave me a pencil, and a bit of paper, on which I only writ that I had received the note. Madam de Pomereux had found means to become acquainted with the wife of this Carpentier, and had given her five hundred crowns for this first service. The husband was used to that sort of trade, and had not been unserviceable to Mr. de Beaufort in procuring his liberty. He is dead himself, and so are likewise his wife and family, which gives me room to be the more free. But considering that some unforeseen accident may bring to light whatever is set down in writing, you must give me leave to enter into no particulars that relate

to

to the other manner of corresponding with my friends, which I had besides this, and in which some of the persons concerned are still living. It is enough that I tell you, that notwithstanding the changing of three exempts, and of twenty-four life-guardmen, who succeeded one another during the fifteen months I staid at Vincennes, my correspondence was never interrupted.

I received twice a week regularly letters from madam de Pomereux, and from messieurs de Caumartin and d'Hocqueville, which tended all towards seeking out means to set me at liberty. The shortest way was to escape out of my prison. I made two attempts towards it, one of which was suggested to me by my physician, who understood mathematics. He took into his head to file off the bar of the grate of a little window that was in the chapel where I heard mass, and to tie to the window a sort of machine, with which I might, 'tis true, have got down easily enough from the third story wherein I was lodged, into the ditch. But considering that I must from thence climb up the wall, from whence there was no way afterwards of getting down, he quitted that thought, which indeed was impracticable, and we stuck to another which in all likelihood would have done, if it had not pleased Providence to prevent the execution of it. I had observed at the time that I was carried upon the platform, that there was at the very top of it a cavity, the use of which I could never guess. It was about half filled up, but there was room enough left to get down into it, and to hide one's self in it. This brought a thought into my head, that upon the day that Carpentier was to guard me, and whilst all the rest of the guards, except his comrade, were at dinner, it would be an easy matter to make that comrade drunk. The man, whose name was Tourville, was old, and a few glasses of wine were enough to make him dead drunk, as Carpentier had experienced it more than once. I proposed to make use of that moment to go upon the platform, and to hide myself in the cavity which I have mentioned, with a provision of some loaves, and of some bottles both of wine and water. Carpentier owned that this first step was not only possible, but even easy, and what made it the more so, was that the two guards who were to relieve his comrade and him, had always had the civility not to come into my chamber, but stay at the door till they thought I was awake; for I had used myself to sleep in the afternoon, or at least to make my guards think so. Carpentier

pentier was to have tied two cords to the window of the gallery, through which Mr. de Beaufort had escaped, and to have thrown into the ditch a woven engine, which Mr. Vacherot had been working upon all night long in his chamber, by means of which it might have been thought that I had got up the wall, which had been made since Mr. de Beaufort's escape. This trusty guard was at the same time to have given an alarm, as if he had seen me pass into the gallery, and to have shewn his sword stained with blood, as if he had wounded me in pursuing me. This alarm would have gathered together the whole guard, who had found the cords tied to the window. They would have perceived in the ditch the engine I mentioned, stained likewise with blood. Eight or ten men on horseback were to have appeared in the wood that surrounds Vincennes, with pistols in their hands, ready to receive me. A man with a red calot on his head was to have been seen as running out of Vincennes, and after having joined those that were waiting for him, he was to have marched with part of them towards Mezieres, whilst the others would have marched another way. The guns were to have been fired at Mezieres three or four days after, as if I was actually arrived there. Who would ever have thought that I had been in the hole I have mentioned? They would in all likelihood have removed the guards from the castle of Vincennes, and would have left there only the soldiers that were usually in it, who had given leave to the inhabitants of Paris to come in for two-pence a-piece to see the window and the cord I escaped by, as they did those of Mr. de Beaufort. My friends had come thither out of curiosity as well as the rest, they had disguised me in a woman's or a monk's habit, or what else you please, and I had got away without the least suspicion. I do not think that any thing could have rendered the court more ridiculous than my escaping in this manner. It was so extraordinary, that it may appear impossible, notwithstanding which it was certainly easy, and I am fully persuaded that the success would have been infallible, if one of the guards, whose name was l'Escar mouche, had not spoiled it by mere accident. He was sent to Vincennes in the room of another who fell sick, and being an old hard-hearted and observing man, he told the exempt, that he did not conceive why he did not cause a door to be made at the foot of the little stair-case that went up to the platform: the door was set up there the next morning, and so my project came to nothing. That same l'Escar mouche

mouche told me in a very friendly manner that same evening, that if his majesty was pleased to order it, he would strangle me.

I did not apply myself so entirely to the finding out the means of escaping from Vincennes, as to neglect those which might oblige my enemies to set me at liberty. The abbot Charrier, who went for Rome the very next day after my being arrested, found pope Innocent incensed at it even to a rage, and ready to thunder out excommunications upon the authors of a deed, for which he had the examples of what his predecessors had done in some like cases. He explained himself upon it with an extreme resentment to the ambassador of France. He sent Mr. Marini, archbishop of Avignon, as nuncio in extraordinary, to demand my liberty. The king, on his side, resolved upon maintaining his royal authority. He sent to forbid monsignor Marini to come further than Lyons. The pope grew afraid of exposing both his own power and that of the church, to the rage of a madman, meaning Mazarin, for he used that expression, speaking to the abbot Charrier; to whom he said further: 'Furnish me with an army, and I will send a legate at the head of it.' It would have been no easy matter to have furnished him with an army, but the thing would not have been impossible, if those that were obliged to stand my friends on this occasion had not failed me.

You have seen in the second volume of these memoirs that I might have reckoned upon the town of Mezieres, * because Bussi-lamet, who was governor of it, was my particular friend; and that I had likewise a right to reckon upon Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe, because Mr. de Noirmoutier had been made governor of these two places, by my means only. You have likewise seen that this last had failed me at the time that cardinal Mazarin came back into France. He thought it sufficient for his justification to tell every body that he would serve me to all intents and purposes in what concerned my person; and there being hardly any thing that touches the person of a man nearer than imprisonment, Noirmoutier

* The towns of Mezieres and of Charleville are both in Champaign, and situated on the river Marne, and at a very small distance one from the other. The place called Mont-Olimpe lies over against Charleville, on the other side of the river.

moutier joined himself publicly to Buffi-lamet, as soon as I was arrested, and they wrote a letter jointly to the cardinal, whereby they declared that they should be forced to carry matters to all manner of extremities, if I was detained longer in prison. The places of which these two gentlemen were governors, are not to be attacked when they are of the same party, and are consequently of an extreme importance; but what made them be at this time still of a greater, was that the prince, who at the first news he had of my detention, declared that he would do without exception all that my friends should desire of him towards procuring my liberty, had offered the two governors to send the whole forces of Spain to their assistance. Belle-Isle besides, of which Mr. de Retz was master, was no contemptible place, because of its nearness to England, on which France could not depend at that time; and Bourdeaux, as well as Brouage, were still at that time holding out for the prince. This and many other circumstances of that nature, as for example the disposition of the count d'Autel, who was in Bethune, and who would have certainly stirred in my favour, if he had seen any enterprize well formed; this, I say, made many people believe that there was wherewithal to have formed such an enterprize, that is, that there was a sufficient quantity of stuff, but by ill luck there was nobody capable of making a right use of it. The intentions of the duke de Retz, my brother, were good, but he was unfit for any great design, and he was besides kept back by his wife, and by his father-in-law. The duke de Brissac, who had been ordered to retire, was not a man at all fit to head an affair. The duke de Noirmoutier was the most venturesome, but he was brought over at first to the court party by madam de Chevreuse, and by Laigues, to whom the cardinal said in express terms, that they should be answerable to him for the actions of their friends, and that if they caused a single gun to be fired, they should see how it should fare with them both. Mr. de Noirmoutier, whose friendship for me, as you have already seen, was not over-violent, yielded to the instances of his friends, and of his lady, who is not one of the best of her sex, and he promised the court* that he would give me only appearances, but would in reality do nothing for me.

That

* The mareschal de Villeroy gave notice of that engagement with the court to madam de Lesdiguieres upon the 14th day

That gentleman was as good as his word; he did not by any ways traverse the siege of Stenay, which the king made at that time. He eluded all the proposals of the prince, and he contented himself with continuing to speak and write in my behalf, and having many guns fired when my health was drank. He could hardly however have acted that part long, if Bussi-lamet, who was a man of sense and resolution, had lived. This last spoke to Malclerc, whom my friends had sent to him, in this very manner: 'Noirmoutier designs to amuse me, but I shall bring him to declare himself, or I shall get master of his place.' The poor gentleman died of an apoplexy that very night. The chevalier de Lamet, who was a major in the place, being become the master of it by the other's death, the viscount his eldest brother threw himself into it, and remained very faithfully attached to my interest. The abbot de Lamet, their cousin and mine, and who was master of my chamber, * staid all the while at Mezieres, and served me there with all the zeal imaginable; but one place being able to do no good without the help of the other, nothing was done, and Mezieres, Charleville, and the Mont-Olimpe, were for me without being useful to me. It cost me however a large sum of money, which Mr. de Retz, my brother, lent for subsisting the garrison, and which I have repaid since with interest.

You may judge that all these particulars, which I was punctually informed of, did not give me a little trouble, but the greatest was my hiding the knowledge I had of them; and I remember that Mr. de Pradelle, who commanded the French and Switz guards that were in the castle, and who had the liberty to see me, as well as Mr. de Maupeou de Noisi, who was a captain in the guards; I remember, I say, that Mr. de Pradelle told me one day that he was grieved at heart at a piece of news which he thought himself obliged to mention to me, and that was the death of Mr. de Bussi-lamet. I appeared surprized at it, though I knew it as well as he. This Mr. de Pradelle was so kind as to comfort me in this same conversation, against the fear I might have that they would undertake something at Mezieres against his majesty's service,

day of my imprisonment. N. B. This note, which I have set down as it is in the French copy, seems to have been written by the cardinal de Retz himself.

* An officer who introduces persons into a cardinal's presence, and who has the direction of his chamber.

service, and he assured me that that place was in the hands of the officer whom the king had sent to command there. Oh serve, I beseech you, that I had received the day before a billet from the viscount Lamet, who assured me that he was master of it, and that I might rely upon him. I received however for truth whatever Pradelle was pleased to tell me upon that account, as well as most of his other discourses, which were such as are commonly used towards prisoners of state. I say, that I received most of his other discourses for truth, because there were some which I could not appear to take in that manner. That gentleman, whose talk was commonly about the weather, or about matters past before my imprisonment, took it once into his head to acquaint me with the happy return of cardinal Mazarin to Paris. He embellished his relation with all the ornaments which he thought might displease me, and he magnified extremely the fine reception that was made him at the town-house. I had already been informed of it, and that Mr. Vedeau had harangued him with all the meanness possible. I answered Pradelle, that I was not surprized at it: 'Nor will you be sorry, sir,' replied he, when you know how much regard the cardinal has for you: he has commanded me to wait on you, and to assure you of his most humble services; and he begs that you would believe that he will leave nothing undone to serve you.' I seemed as if my head had been full of other things which prevented my taking notice of this compliment, and I asked him I do not know what question, upon a subject that was altogether foreign to the cardinal. He began to mention the thing afresh, and as he was pressing me to give him an answer, I told him that I would not have failed to have shewn my gratitude when he spoke first, if I had not been persuaded that the respect which a prisoner owes the king takes away from him the leave of explaining himself in any manner upon any thing that relates to his liberty, till it has pleased the king to restore it him. He understood what I meant; he tried to persuade me to send the cardinal a more obliging answer; but he lost his labour.

The advices which cardinal Mazarin received from Rome, and the heat people appeared in, and which even increased in Poitou and at Paris, in respect to my imprisonment, obliged him to give at least some outward demonstrations of his intending me my liberty, and he made use to that purpose of the credulity of monsignor Bagni, the pope's nuncio in France,

France, a man of probity, and of a distinguished birth; but an easy man, and altogether fit to be deceived. The cardinal sent him to me, accompanied by messieurs de Brienne and le Tellier, with proposals for granting me my liberty and great advantages, in case I would resign the coadjutorship of Paris. My friends having sent me notice that this step would be taken, I heard the proposal, and answered it in a set speech, very much becoming an ecclesiastic, and which even shamed monsignor Bagni, and brought upon him afterwards a very sharp reprimand from Rome. This speech, which had been sent me by Mr. de Caumartin, and which was very fine and very much to the purpose, was printed at Paris the next day. The court was extremely vexed at it. I had another exempt and other guards, but this change brought no interruption to my commerce with my friends.

The instances which the chapter of Nôtre Dame made, obliged the court to give leave to a canon of that body to be with me, and the chapter chose one who was of the family of Mr. de Braguelone, who had been bred up with me at the college, and to whom I had even given my prebend. The prison became too tiresome for him, though he had shut himself up in it with joy, for my sake. He fell into a deep melancholy, of which I took notice, and did what lay in my power to persuade him to leave me, but he would never hearken to it. He was seized with a fever, in the fourth fit of which he cut his own throat with a razor. They had the civility in the castle, during the whole time I staid there, to hide from me the manner in which he died; but the tragical end of that poor gentleman was enlarged upon by my friends, which did not diminish the compassion which the people had for me, nor did that compassion diminish the fears of the cardinal. These fears brought into his head the thought of transferring me either to Amiens, or to Brest, or to Havre-de-Grace. I was informed of it, and I counterfeited an illness. Vesou was sent to see whether I was really sick. I was differently informed about the report he made. What prevented my being removed was the death of the archbishop of Paris my uncle, which stirred up the minds of the people to such a degree, that the court thought it fitter to appease them than to increase their discontent. The manner in which I was served in this affair, has something in it very wonderful.

My uncle died at four in the morning, and at five the possession of the archbishopric was seized in my name, by virtue of a letter

a letter of attorney from me, which appeared to be in very good form; * and Mr. le Tellier, who arrived at Nôtre-Dame at five and a quarter, to oppose it in the king's name, had the satisfaction to hear my bulls fulminated † in the lobby. Whatever is surprizing stirs up the people. This scene was surprizing to the last degree, nothing being more extraordinary than the conjunction of the necessary formalities to an action of that nature, at a time when nobody thought it possible to have observed any one of them. The curates grew still warmer than usual; my friends blowed the fire; the people wanted their archbishop; the nuncio, who thought he had been doubly abused by the court, spoke very high, and threatened them there with ecclesiastical censures. A pamphlet was published, which proved, that all the churches must be shut up. The cardinal was seized with fear, and his fears inclining him always to negotiate, a negotiation was begun. He was not ignorant of the advantages those have who negotiate with others that are not well informed how matters go. He thought half the time that I was of that number, and he believed it in this conjuncture. He got a hundred proposals to be made to me of permutations, of rich abbeys, of governments, of being restored to the king's favour, and of a solid union with the minister. Pradelle and my exempt spoke of nothing else from morning till night. I had a greater liberty allowed me than ordinary. They would no longer suffer me to stay in my chamber, if the weather could in the least permit that I might walk upon the platform. I feigned as if I reflected not in the least upon all this change, being informed by my friends of what was acting underhand. They sent me word to keep myself close, and not to open myself in any manner to any body, because they knew for certain, by the informations they had, that there was nothing solid at the bottom of the negotiation, and that the court intended only to make me explain myself in a manner which they might take hold of there; as if the resigning my archbishopric was not a thing impossible; that the

* All this was done by the contrivance of Mr. de Caumartin. See Joli's *Memoirs*, (Dublin Edition) Vol. I. p. 227.

† This verb, which is often taken in another sense, is likewise used for the executing any deed coming from the court of Rome.

the zeal of the clergy, and of the people for me, might thereby grow cooler. I followed exactly my friends instructions, * infomuch that Mr. de Noailles, captain of the guards in waiting, coming to me by the king's order, and making me a speech far different from his manners and from his inclination, which had nothing in it but sweet and civil (for Mazarin obliged him to speak to me much more like an aga of the Janizaries, than like an officer of a christian king) I desired his leave to give him my answer down in writing. I cannot remember the words, but I know that it expressed a sovereign contempt for the cardinal's threats, as well as for his promises, and an unalterable resolution not to resign the archbishopric of Paris.

I received a letter from my friends the very next day, which informed me that they had got my answer to Mr. de Noailles immediately printed, and what admirable effect it had produced. They likewise sent me word, that the president de Bellievre was ordered to come and make a second attempt upon me the next day. He came, and offered me in the king's name, the abbey of St. Lucien de Beauvais, of St. Meddard de Soissons, of St. Germain d'Auxerre, of Barbeau, of St. Martin de Pontoise, of St. Aubin d'Angers, and of Ocan: 'provided,' added he, 'that you renounce the archbishopric of Paris, and provided that'——he stopped at that word, and looking upon me, he said: 'I have hitherto spoke in a manner answerable to my commission, but it is time for me to begin to laugh at the Sicilian, who is weak enough to employ me in a work of this nature: And provided,' continued he, 'that you give twelve of your friends for sureties that you will ratify your renunciation the moment that you are set at liberty.——This is not all,' added he, 'I am to be one of the twelve, as are likewise messieurs de Retz, de Brissac, de Montresor, de Caumartin, d'Hocqueville, &c. Hear me speak,' said he, 'and do not answer me, I beg of you, till I have said all I have to say. Most of your friends are persuaded, that your only business is to hold out, and that the court will grant you your liberty, and be satisfied with getting rid of you,'

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* Joli, in the account he gives of this whole transaction, differs very much from the cardinal de Retz, whom, according to his usual custom, he represents as a weak man, which is not at all the character given him by other writers.

and sending you to Rome. That is a mistake. The court is for having your renunciation any way. When I say the court, I mean Mazarin, for the queen is grieved at heart to hear your liberty so much as mentioned. Le Tellier says, that the cardinal must be out of his wits. The abbot Fouquet is enraged; and Servien consents to it, only because the others are against it. We must therefore lay down as incontestably true, that Mazarin is the only man that is for your liberty, and that he is for it, only because he thinks himself sufficiently revenged of you, by making you lose the archbishopric of Paris. This is, at least, the pretence he makes use of, for at the bottom it is not what determines him. It is only the fear he is possessed with at this instant, in respect to the nuncio, to the chapter, to the curates, to the people: I say, at this instant of the death of the archbishop, of which the consequences can at most be an insurrection, which not being supported, must fall to nothing. But I say more, for I maintain that it will produce no such consequence. The nuncio will threaten, and do nothing more; the chapter will make remonstrances that will be of no use; the curates will bewail you in their pulpits, and that will be all; the people will make a noise, but will not take up arms. I am near at hand to see all these things, the event of which will be your being transferred either to Havre-de-Grace, or to Brest, there to remain in the hands, and at the disposal of your enemies, who will afterwards do what they please with you. I know that Mazarin is not a man that loves blood, and yet I tremble when I consider what Mr. de Noailles has said to you, That they were resolved to dispatch matters, and to follow the steps which have so often been taken in other countries. Their resolving at court to speak in this manner, is what makes me tremble. Great souls do it sometimes to serve their ends, but without any intent to execute what they say. Mean souls had rather do the thing than speak the words. From what I have said you will conclude, that I am for your resigning your post. Far from it. I am come hither to tell you that you will bring a disgrace upon yourself if you do it, and that you are obliged in this conjuncture, to answer at the expence of your life, and of your liberty, which I know to be dearer to you than life, the great expectation people are in upon your account. The time is
come,

' come, when you ought more than ever to practise the max-
 ' ims which we have so often bantered you upon: *I stand in*
 ' *fear neither of sword nor poison: Nothing but what is*
 ' *within me can move me: Death is to be met with every*
 ' *where.* These have been your frequent sayings, and they
 ' are now to be used in the answer you are to give those who
 ' shall speak to you about your renunciation. You have
 ' hitherto discharged your duty in a worthy manner, and no-
 ' body can reasonably find fault with your behaviour. I
 ' should therefore be to blame if I should undertake to per-
 ' suade you to change your measures. It is not what I re-
 ' quire of you. The thing I would ask of you is, that you
 ' would tell me plainly whether you would accept of your
 ' liberty if it was offered you for a trifle?' Seeing me smile at
 ' that word: ' Stay,' said he, ' and I will convince you that
 ' the thing is not impossible. Do you reckon a resignation
 ' of the archbishopric of Paris, dated in the castle of Vin-
 ' cennes, where you are detained prisoner, as a valid act?'
 ' No,' answered I, ' and therefore my enemies are not satisfied
 ' with that, but will have sureties for the having it ratified
 ' afterwards.' ' But if I can find any room,' replied the pre-
 ' sident de Bellievre, ' to make the court desist from their re-
 ' quiring sureties, what will you then think?' ' I will resign
 ' the archbishopric to-morrow,' answered I. He then ex-
 ' plained to me all that he had done; he told me, that he
 ' would never undertake to come to me with any proposals, till
 ' he had clearly perceived that the real intent of the cardinal
 ' was to set me at liberty, and till he had found him likewise
 ' disposed to desist from requiring any sureties. He added,
 ' that besides this proposal of having such sureties as were
 ' now demanded, there were no manner of ways that he had
 ' not thought upon to make my act of resignation a valid act.
 ' That his first thought had been to get a writing signed by the
 ' chapter, the curates, and the Sorbonne, whereby they should
 ' engage to disown me for their archbishop, in case I should re-
 ' fuse to ratify my deed of resignation, after my being set at
 ' liberty. That the second had been, to have me brought to
 ' the Louvre, to assemble there all the ecclesiastical bodies of
 ' the city, and to make me engage my word to the king in
 ' their presence, that I would stand to my deed. ' In short,'
 ' said the president, ' there are no ways whatsoever but what
 ' have come into his head to satisfy his distrust. You may
 ' perceive it by what I have said, though I have not said half

of what I have seen. Knowing him as I do, I have not thought fit to contradict him in any thing. But he has of himself rejected these ridiculous fancies, except that of the twelve sureties, which is indeed more practicable than the others. It will, however, get out of his head likewise, provided you remain firm in rejecting it. I shall be forced to insist upon it with obstinacy, and you must refuse it with courage, as thinking it shameful for you. By this means we shall bring the Sicilian to accept of an expedient which he will be well pleased with, because he will think it very proper to deceive you. This expedient will be to trust you in the hands either of Mr. d'Hocquincourt, or of Mr. de la Meilleraie, till the pope hath accepted of your resignation. The cardinal will think that resignation good, if it is once accepted of by the pope, and he is so ignorant in our laws, that he was saying so to me no longer ago than yesterday.

I interrupted the first president, to tell him that this expedient was good for nothing, because the pope would refuse to accept it. 'No matter,' replied he, 'that is the worst that can happen, and there is even a remedy to that. When that expedient is proposed, in accepting of it you must stipulate, that, happen what will, you shall not be put again into the king's power, but upon my direction; and I shall take care to get a writing in good form, from the gentleman in whose hands you are intrusted, not to deliver you up but upon my order. You ought to trust me: Follow my directions, and my heart gives me that God will perfect the work.'

We discussed the matter to the very bottom; we examined thoroughly which of the two we should chuse, Mr. d'Hocquincourt, or Mr. de la Meilleraie. We agreed upon every thing, and the first president left the castle, telling Mr. de Pradelle with tears in his eyes: 'I find in him an invincible obstinacy: I am sorry at heart. Not that he cares now for the archbishopric; that would not be an obstacle. But he thinks his honour wounded by the proposals that are made to him of sureties and guarantees. He will never yield, and I will meddle no longer in it: There's nothing to be done.'

Pradelle, who was much more devoted to the abbot Fouquet than to the cardinal, and who knew that the abbot was in no manner for my being set at liberty, acquainted him immediately

immediately with this piece of news, upon which he was ordered by the abbot to mention to me indirectly and without affectation, in the conversation we should have together, the archbishopric of Rheims, and other immense recompences, with an intent that when proposals of a lesser sort should be offered me, I should appear more stiff, in hopes that my stiffness would offend Mazarin the more. I perceived easily enough what they drove at, by comparing together what I knew to be true, because I had it from Mr. de Bellievre and my other friends, and what I heard from Pradelle, and from d'Avanton, who was my exempt. This last spoke to me ingenuously, being altogether a dependant on Mr. de Noailles his captain, who went himself roundly to work, and had nothing in view but the service of the king. But Pradelle's design being to hinder me from accepting the offers that were to be made me, by putting me in hopes of obtaining something better, he continued to dazzle my eyes with bright prospects; but I resolved to oppose artifice to artifice. I told d'Avanton, That I could in no manner conceive what the meaning of the court was: That though I was a prisoner, I did not find my prison so very burthensome, as to wish to get free from it at any rate whatsoever: That it was best to go roundly to work with every body, and with prisoners as well as with others: That I had proposals made to me at the same time, opposite to one another: That the first president offered me seven abbeys, whilst Mr. de Pradelle was mentioning to me archbishoprics. D'Avanton, who desired nothing more than to see this negotiation come to a good end, failed not to give his captain an account of my complaints. Cardinal Mazarin, who was kept in a mortal fright by the curates and the confessors of Paris, and who for that reason was impatient to the last degree to finish the thing, was extremely angry at Pradelle's conduct, and he used him very rudely upon it, suspecting, as it was true, that, what he did was by the abbot Fouquet's orders. The vexation this gave him to find his own dependants opposing his will, contributed much, as Mr. de Bellievre told me the next day, to make him consent to make an end of the matter by accepting my act of resignation, dated in the castle of Vincennes, for which I was to have the seven abbeys which I have mentioned. He likewise consented that I should be put into the hands of Mr. de la Meilleraie, to be kept in the castle of Nantes, of which he was governor, and to be set at liberty as soon as his holiness had

had accepted of my resignation : But that, whether the pope accepted of it or no, I should not be put again into the king's hands, till the president de Bellievre should send a writing under his hand for his consenting to it ; and that for greater surety of this last clause, the king should empower the mareschal de la Meilleraie to give a promise under his hand to Mr. de Bellievre, not to deliver me up till he had the president's order. All this was performed, and the Monday following they came both of them to Vincennes, and accompanied me in one of the king's coaches as far as the Port-à-l'Anglois.

The mareschal being very lame of the gout, could not come up to my chamber, which gave an opportunity to Mr. de Bellievre to warn me, as we were coming down stairs, against entering into an engagement which would be required of me, and which was, that I should not try to escape from the confinement which I was to be kept under at Nants. The mareschal proposed it to me, and my answer was, That prisoners of war might give such promises, but that I never heard that they were required from prisoners of state. The mareschal grew angry at it, and he told me plainly, that he would take me under his care only upon that condition. Mr. de Bellievre, who had found only the opportunity of whispering me a word about this, because of the presence of my exempt, of Pradelle, and of my guards, began now to speak. ' You do not understand one another,' said he, ' the cardinal does not refuse to give his word of honour, if you will confide in it entirely, and give him no guards. But if you keep him under guard, sir, what will such a promise signify ? Does not the keeping him under restraint free him from it ?' The president played a sure game, being well assured that the queen had made the mareschal promise that I should always have some guards to watch me. The mareschal looked upon Mr. de Bellievre, and said : ' You know that I cannot act in the manner you propose ; come, sir,' said he, turning to me, ' there is no avoiding the giving you guards, but I shall guard you in a manner that shall give you no manner of room to complain.' We left Vincennes, and we marched away, accompanied by the gens d'armes, the light-horse, and the musquetaires of the king's household. Cardinal Mazarin's guards, who in my opinion ought not to have appeared there, were likewise of the company, and made even a mighty figure.

We

We parted with the first president at the Port-à-l'Anglois, and we continued our march as far as Baugency, where we embarked, after my guards had been relieved by new ones. The horse returned to Paris; and Pradelle, who had Morel for his ensign, that belongs now, I think, to the dutchess of Orleans, came in the same boat with me; and in another boat that followed ours, there was a company of the regiment of guards. The next day after my arrival at Nantes, all my guards left me, and I was left entirely to the keeping of the mareschal de la Meilleraie, who was as good as his word, for nothing could exceed his civil usage. Every body had the liberty of seeing me, all means possible were sought to divert me, and I had a play acted before me almost every evening. All the ladies of the town were present at it, and often supped in the castle. Madam de la Vergne, who was married a second time to the chevalier de Sevigné, and lived in Anjou with him, came to see me, and brought her daughter with her, who is now madam de la Fayette. She was very agreeable and very lovely, and she had besides much of the air of madam de Lesdiguières. I had a great liking to her, but the truth is she had but little to me, either because her inclination did not lead her that way, or because of the distrust that both her mother and father-in-law had filled her with betimes, and carefully, in respect to me and to the inconstancy of my amours. Her cruelty caused me no great trouble, it being natural for me in such cases to be pretty easily comforted, and the freedom which Mr. de la Meilleraie suffered me to live in, with the ladies of the town, was besides a great help to comfort me. It is true, that the exactness with which he guarded me, was equal to the civility he used towards me. I was never left without somebody that watched me narrowly, except when I was retired into my chamber, and then there were always six men that guarded the door. There was in the chamber only a very high window, that looked down into a yard, in which there was always a numerous guard; and one of the six men that guarded the door, and who always accompanied me when I went to walk in a little garden, which is upon a kind of bastion or ravelin, built just by the river side, posted himself upon the terras of a tower, from whence he watched all my steps. The duke de Brissac, whom I met at the mareschal de la Meilleraie's when I arrived there, and messieurs de Caumartin, d'Hocqueville, the abbot de Pont Carré, and Amelot, who came thither soon after,

after, were more surprized at the strictness of my guard, than pleased at the civilities shewn me, though never so great. I own that I was myself very much troubled at it, chiefly when I heard by an express sent me by the abbot Charrier, that the pope would not give his approbation to what I had done, which approbation had not made my act of resignation one jot more valid, and yet would have procured me my liberty. I dispatched immediately to Rome, Malclerc, who has the honour to be known to you, with a letter for the pope, wherein I gave his holiness an account of what my true interest required. I gave to Malclerc besides a large instruction of all the expedients whereby the dignity of the holy see might be reconciled with the accepting of my resignation. But nothing could persuade his holiness, and he remained inflexible. He thought that his reputation would be too much at stake, if he should consent for a single instant to a violence so injurious to the whole church; and the pope spoke in this manner to the abbot Charrier and to Malclerc, who were pressing him with tears in their eyes: 'I know that my approbation would not validate a resignation which has been extorted by violence; but I likewise know that it would dishonour me, when people should say that I have given my consent to a resignation dated in a prison.'

You will easily believe that this disposition of the pope's brought many serious reflections into my head, which worked afterwards the more upon me by the disposition of the marshal de la Meilleraie, who was of all men the most cringing to the court. His being brought up at the court of cardinal Richlieu had made so strong impressions upon his mind, that though he had a great deal of aversion for cardinal Mazarin, he trembled at the hearing of his name mentioned. His fear redoubled at the first news that came from Rome. He appeared to be moved at it even beyond what decency allowed him. After the cardinal had sent him word that he knew for certain that the difficulty which the pope made came from me, he could not contain himself any longer, but he reproached me with it, and instead of giving an ear to my reasons, which were grounded merely upon truth, he affected to believe that I disguised my true intention from him. I made then no doubt but that he would seek out for pretences to surrender me to the court, when it should be convenient for him to do it. This conduct is common to all those who act with more cunning than prudence, but it does not succeed with those whose impetuosity

petuosity is greater than their probity. I made the mareschal discover his intentions by putting him insensibly into a heat, and he betrayed himself very imprudently in the presence of all those that were with us in the court belonging to the castle. He read me a letter, which informed him that they had received advice at court of my promising the duke of Orleans, who was at Blois, to bring the mareschal de la Meilleraie over to his interest, and that I did not even despair that he would give him a retreat in Fort Louis. I told the mareschal that he must expect to be often troubled in this manner, and that the court, which had no other view by removing me than to appease the people at Paris, thought now upon nothing else than to get me out of his hands by their artifices there. At this he turned towards me like a man possessed, and he said to me in a loud voice and all in a heat, 'In short, sir, I would have you to know that I shall never make war against the king upon your account. I will be true to my promise, but the first president must likewise do what he has promised the king.'

This put me seriously upon finding out the means to make my escape. I was pressed about it by the first president, upon whom the court had already made a kind of trial, and Montresor got a lady of Nantes to put a little note into my hands, in which I found these words written: 'You are to be removed to Brest at the end of this month, if you don't prevent it by making your escape.' The thing was very difficult, and the first step towards it was to amuse the mareschal. Joli shewed him the decyphering of letters, which appeared very genuine; and I observed on this occasion, that persons the most distrustful are often the most easily deceived. I discovered my design to Mr. de Brissac, who came to Nantes from time to time, and who promised to serve me. He went always with a very great equipage, and had many mules to carry his trunks. This brought a thought into my head, that it would not be impossible for me to be conveyed away in one of these trunks. There was one made for that purpose, a little bigger than ordinary, and with a hole to let in some air. I tried it, and I found that way of escaping natural and practicable. Mr. de Brissac went for two or three days to Machecoul, from whence he returned altogether altered. He discovered the thing to the dutchess of Retz, my sister-in-law, and to her father, who dissuaded him from it; the first because she hated me, and the second because of his ill-nature.

Mr. de Brissac said for his excuse, that he was sure that I should be stifled in the trunk; but the truth is, that he was touched with a scruple, which they had put into his head, that by doing a thing of this nature he would violate in too open a manner the laws of hospitality. I represented to him as much as I could, that in suffering me to be transferred to Brest, he would violate in no less a manner the laws of friendship. He owned it, and he promised to help me to escape any other way than this. I entered into measures with him upon a project, which I had thought of, as soon as the first had failed.

I have already told you, that I went and walked sometimes upon a kind of ravelin by the river-side, and I had observed that (being in the month of August) the river did not come up to the wall, but left a little space of dry ground between it and the bastion. I had likewise observed, that between the garden which was upon the bastion and the terrace on which my guards staid whilst I was walking, there was a door, which Chalucet had caused to be set up to prevent the soldiers coming into the garden. Upon these observations I formed my design, which was to draw unaffectedly that door upon me as I came into the garden, which being made with cross-bars, was no obstacle to the guards from looking on me, but would serve however to prevent their coming to me. I designed afterwards to get down the wall by means of a cord, which my physician and the abbot Rousseau, brother to the steward of my family, were to hold fast at the top; to have horses ready by the river-side, both for myself and for four gentlemen whom I designed to take along with me. This project was extremely difficult to execute. It was of an extraordinary kind, and all that are such are never thought possible, by those that are capable of forming only ordinary ones, but when they see them executed. I have made that observation above a hundred times; and if I am not mistaken, Longinus, that famous chancellor to queen Zenobia, has observed it before me, in his treatise on the sublime. In short, there had been nothing more remarkable in our age than the success of an escape like mine, if, in breaking my fetters, it had ended in rendering myself master of the capital city of the kingdom. Mr. de Caumartin * brought that thought into my head,

* Joli says, that it was he that first proposed it to the cardinal de Retz.

head, and I embraced it very eagerly. The first president de Bellievre approved of it; and as soon as the chancellor and Servien, who were at Paris, heard that I was marching that way, they had no other thought than of quitting me the place, and of running out of it. It was the first word that Servien, who was not a timorous man, said, when he received an account of it from the marshal de la Meilleraie. Add to that the *Te Deum* that was sung for my liberty in the church of *Nôtre-Dame*, and the bonfires that were made in many places of the city, though they did not see me there, and judge of the effect which I had room to hope that my presence would have produced there. I take this to be a sufficient answer to those who have blamed my enterprize. I desire that these gentlemen would examine seriously, and consider within themselves, whether they would have thought that the declaration which I made in full parliament against cardinal Mazarin, the next day after the battle of *Rhetel*, would have succeeded as it did, if it had been proposed to them a quarter of an hour before they saw the success of it. I am persuaded that almost all the great things that have been undertaken are of this nature. I am persuaded besides, that it is often necessary to venture upon such undertakings; and I continue to be still persuaded, that it was prudent in the occasion I am speaking of, because the worst that could have happened was my embarking in an action of great moment, which I had pushed on if I had found room, and to which I had given an air of moderation and of discretion, if I had found matters not so well prepared as I imagined. For my project was to enter into Paris with the appearance only of peaceable intentions; to declare both at the parliament and at the town-house, that I came with the design only of taking possession of my archbishopric; to take in effect that possession in my cathedral; to examine what effect such a spectacle would have produced upon the minds of a people already inflamed by the state in which things were, Arras being besieged at that time by the prince of Condé. My presence at Paris would probably have prevented the king from attacking the lines as he did. The partisans of the prince, who were numerous in the city, would certainly have joined with my friends. The flight of the chancellor and of Servien had discouraged the Mazarinians; the collusion of the first president de Bellievre had been a signal advantage to me. Mr. Nicolai, first president of the chamber of accounts, has declared since, that the

court

court having observed against me not any one of the forms of law required, that chamber had not hesitated one single moment to do in favour of my possession whatever lay in their power. I should have known by these first steps how far I ought or might have carried the second. If I had met, as I have observed, with more obstacles in my way than I had fancied, it would have been easy for me to have taken a step backwards, to have acted only the ecclesiastical part, and after having taken possession of the archbishopric, to have retired into Mezieres, where two hundred horse would easily have convoyed me, all the king's troops being far off. The viscount de Lamet was in that place, and Noirmoutier himself, though reconciled secretly to the court, as you have seen, had been obliged to preserve a greater regard for me, to prevent his losing entirely his reputation with the public, and even in respect to his private interest, Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe being insignificant without Mezieres. That gentleman was besides reconciled to me in some measure, since I was come away from Vincennes; for thinking that I should be quickly set at liberty, he had taken hold of these instants to make his peace with me, having sent to that effect Blanchecour, a captain of foot of the garrison of Mezieres. Blanchecour brought me a letter, signed by Noirmoutier and by the viscount de Lamet jointly, who both expressed that they had been all along in my interest, and would continue in the same mind as long as they lived. The viscount wrote me word by a separate letter, that the duke de Noirmoutier affected a greater zeal for me than ever, in order to gild over his past actions with the shew he made now, which, as matters stood, could no longer, at least as he thought, be of any prejudice to him at court. My retiring into Mezieres would, it is true, have produced no great matters, because of my mistrusting Noirmoutier, and because, as I have said, that place is insignificant without Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe. It would however have served as a place for me to retire into, which at that juncture of time was what I needed most.

The whole project was overthrown in an instant, though none of the foundations failed on which it was built. I made my escape upon Saturday the 8th of August, at five in the afternoon. The door of the garden, which I have mentioned, seemed as if it had shut naturally of itself. I got
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down the bastion, which was forty feet high, by means of the cord. A valet-de-chambre, who belongs still to me, amused my guards with some bottles of wine. They were besides amusing themselves in looking at a Dominican fryar, who was got into the river to bathe, and who was very near drowning. The centinel, who was not above twenty steps from me, durst not fire, because, when I saw him preparing to do it, I cried to him that I would have him hanged if he budged; and he said, when he was put to the rack, that hearing me threaten him in that manner, he thought that the marechal favoured my escape. Two little pages, who were bathing, seeing me coming down the bastion-wall, would have discovered my escape, if they had been hearkened to; but every body that heard their cry, fancied that they were calling for help to the monk that wanted it. I met, at my coming down, my four gentlemen, who waited there as if they had been watering their horses. I got on horse-back before there was the least alarm given, and having forty fresh horses waiting for me upon the road between Nantes and Paris, I should infallibly have reached this last place on the Tuesday morning betimes, had it not been for an accident, which has proved fatal to the remaining part of my life. I will give you an account of it, after I have taken notice to you of a remarkable circumstance.

I had a cypher with the princess Palatine, which we used to call the undecypherable, because we had always found it impenetrable, except to those who knew the word agreed on. It was with that cypher that I wrote to the first president that I was to make my escape upon the 8th of August, and he made use of the same to bid me do it whatever risk I should run. I gave, with the same cypher, the necessary orders about my relais. By the same means I agreed with Annery and Laillevaux on the place where the gentlemen out of the Vexin should meet to come into Paris with me. The prince of Condé, who had with him one of the best decypherers in the world, whose name I think was Martin, kept that cypher six weeks at Brussels; and when he gave it me back, he told me that that man owned, that it was impossible to decypher it. These are great proofs of the goodness of the cypher; and yet Joli, who made it not his business to decypher letters, found out the key, after having thought a while upon it. I beg that you would forgive me this digression, which you will find not to be unnecessary. I return to my narration.

As

As soon as I was got on horse-back, I took my way towards Mauve, which, if I mistake not, is five leagues distant from Nantes, by the river side, and where we had agreed that Mr. de Brissac and the chevalier de Sevigné should stay for me, with a boat to cross the river. Le Ralde, gentleman of the horse to the duke de Brissac, who rode before me, told me that we ought to gallop at first, for fear the marshal's guards should have time to shut up the gate of a little street of the suburb where they were quartered, and through which we must necessarily pass. I was mounted upon one of the best horses in the world, and which had cost Mr. de Brissac a thousand crowns. I did not however give him the bridle, because the pavement was extremely bad and very slippery; but one of my gentlemen, whose name was Bois-guerin, perceiving two of the marshal's guards, who had not however any design upon us, and bidding us cock our pistols, I did so, and I presented mine to the guard who was nearest to me, to prevent his seizing my horse's bridle. The sun, that was yet pretty high, shining upon the plate, the reverberation frightened my horse, that was strong and lively. He started at it, and of a sudden fell upon his four feet. I escaped with the breaking of my left shoulder by the fall, and the putting of it besides out of joint, against a great stone that lay before a door. Another of my gentlemen, named Beau-Chesne, took me up and got me upon my horse, and though I suffered an intolerable pain, and that I was now and then obliged to pull my hair to prevent my fainting away, I rode out the five leagues, before the marshal de la Meilleraie, who (if Margni's ballad is to be believed) was following me with full speed with all the runners of Nantes, could reach me. I found, at the place of rendezvous, Mr. de Brissac and the chevalier de Sevigné, with a boat ready. I fainted away at the getting into it, but I came to myself by their throwing water on my face. I tried to get upon my horse after we had passed the river, but I was too weak to sit on horse-back, and Mr. de Brissac was forced to have me put into a hay-mow, where he left me with one of my gentlemen, who held me in his arms. The duke de Brissac took Joli with him, and they,

* In Joli's whole account of this matter, he represents the cardinal de Retz in the worst light imaginable, and as a man so much possessed with fear, that he knew neither what he said or did.

they went directly to Beau-Preau, with a design of gathering together the gentlemen of the country, and of coming afterwards to fetch me away.

I think myself obliged to relate two or three actions of some persons that belonged to me, which deserve not to be forgotten. Paris, a doctor in the university of the college of Navarre, who had given the signal with his hat to the four gentlemen that assisted me in this conjuncture, was found by the water-side by Coulon, gentleman, who rode the horse to the mareschal, who took hold of him and gave him some blows. The doctor preserving his wits, said to Coulon, with a simple air, and like a Norman, 'I will tell the mareschal that you spend your time in the abusing a poor priest, because you dare not attack the cardinal, who is armed with good pistols.' Coulon took this for genuine, and asked him where I was, 'Don't you see him,' answered the doctor, 'entering into that village?' You must observe that he had seen me cross the river, and this presence of mind, which you will own to have been pretty extraordinary, got him away out of Coulon's hands. I will mention now an act of courage no less extraordinary. The gentleman whom the doctor was shewing Coulon, as if it had been myself, was that Beau-Chesne whom I have mentioned. His horse was quite spent, which prevented his joining me. Coulon, who took him for me, ran to him, and perceiving many persons ready to join him, he came up towards Beau-Chesne with a pistol in his hand. Beau-Chesne, who was expecting him in the like posture, looking about him, perceived a boat that was not above ten or twelve steps distance from him. He flung himself into it, and whilst he was stopping Coulon by presenting him one of his pistols, he was holding the other at the waterman, and obliged him to pass the river. The stoutness he shewed on this occasion did not only preserve him, but favoured my escape; because the mareschal, having missed that boat, was forced to ride a long way before he could cross the water.

An action of another nature, but which contributed still more to my liberty, was this: I have already told you, that as soon as the abbot Charrier had sent me word that the pope refused to receive my resignation, I dispatched Malclerc to solicit his holiness about it. The court sent Gaumont at the same time, who was carrying the original act of my resignation to the cardinal d'Est, with an order for him to solicit that

that affair, because there was at that time no ambassador from France at Rome. Gaumont, at his arrival at Lions with Malclerc, finding himself tired, resolved to go to Marseilles and embark there for Italy. That being the longest way, and Malclerc, who went through the mountains, being like to be the soonest at Rome, Gaumont thought fit to intrust him with the packet he had for the cardinal d'Est. His simplicity was great, as you may observe, and it is like that he had never studied a maxim which I have always practised, and always preached to all those who belonged to me; which is, never to mind, in affairs of importance, either fatigue, danger, or expence. Gaumont was punished for not following that maxim on this occasion. The original act of my resignation was not to be found in the packet, though none of the seals seemed to have been broken. When Gaumont complained of it, Malclerc, who was a braver man than he, complained on his side, that what was alledged was a contrivance. This disappointment gave room to the pope to leave the cardinal d'Est in doubt, whether their doing nothing at Rome about that affair proceeded from want of good-will in his holiness, or from want of the original act of my resignation. Malclerc was ordered to entreat the pope, in my name, that in case he would not admit of that resignation, he would spin out the matter till I had found means to escape; and what Malclerc had done, in relation to Gaumont, afforded, as you see, a pretence plausible enough. The cardinal d'Est, being himself amused, amused likewise Mazarin; whose instances to the marshal de la Meilleraie, about his delivering me back into the king's hands, grew thereby less frequent and less pressing; and I had the satisfaction to owe to the zeal and to the prudence of two persons who belonged to me (for the abbot Charrier had his share in this intrigue) the full time I wanted to provide for my escape.

I return to the place where I was hid. I remained for above seven hours in such an anguish that I am not able to express it. I had my left shoulder both broken and put out of joint, and extremely bruised besides. I was seized with a fever about nine in the evening, and the thirst it occasioned was still cruelly increased by the heat of the new hay. Though I was by the river-side, I durst not drink; because if Montet (that's the person's name that was with me) and I had come out of the hay-mow, we had nobody to put it again in order at our coming back into it, which might consequently have

have afforded room to those that ran after me to have searched it. We were continually hearing people on horseback, that were riding on the right and on the left, among whom we knew by his voice Coulon to be one. The uneasiness occasioned by thirst is incredible, and inconceivable to those who have never experienced it. Mr. de la Poise St. Offanges, a man of quality of those parts, whom Mr. de Brissac had acquainted with my misfortune, came about two in the morning to fetch me away, after having observed that the coast was perfectly clear. He caused me to be put upon a handbarrow, which they used to remove dung with, and two countrymen carried me into the barn of a house belonging to him, that stood a league off. I was likewise covered up with hay there, but not wanting drink, that made me easier.

The duke de Brissac came with his dutchess seven or eight hours after, having with them about twenty horses, and they carried me to Beau-Preau, where I found the abbot de Belebat, who was come to visit them. I staid there but one night, till all the gentlemen of the country were assembled. Mr. de Brissac was very much beloved there, and in a little time he got together above two hundred gentlemen. Mr. de Retz, who was still more beloved in his parts, joined him four leagues from thence with three hundred more. We passed almost within sight of Nantes, from whence some of the *mareschal de la Meilleraie's* guards came out to skirmish. They were vigorously repulsed to the field-gate of the town, and we arrived safely at Machecoul, which is in the country of Retz. But this piece of good luck happened not without being allayed with domestic troubles. Madam de Brissac, who had all this while acted the part of an heroine, presenting me at parting with a bottle of imperial water, said to me, 'Nothing but your misfortune hath hindered me from mixing poison with it.' She made me answerable for the piece of treachery done me by Mr. de Noirmoutier upon her account, which I have spoken of before. * It is impossible for you to conceive how much I was touched at hearing these words; and I felt beyond what I am able to express, that an honest heart carries its sensibility to the greatest excess of weakness,

* In the second volume; but in a manner so imperfect, that the paragraph relating to it was not translated, as it is there taken notice of.

weakness, at the complaints of a person to whom he thinks himself obliged. I was not near so sensible at the hardness of the dutchess of Retz, my sister-in-law, and that of her father. They could not hide from me their want of good-will, as soon as I came. The dutchess complained that I had not intrusted her with my escape, though she had left Nantes but the day before I made it. The father exclaimed pretty openly at my obstinacy, for refusing to submit to the king's pleasure, and he did whatever he could with Mr. de Brissac, to oblige him to persuade me to send to the court the ratification of my resignation. The truth is, that both the father and the daughter were extremely afraid of the mareschal de la Meilleraie, who being enraged at my escape, but more still at his being abandoned by all the gentlemen of the province, was threatening to destroy all the country of Retz with fire and sword. Their fright was such, that they fancied to themselves, or were at least willing that other people should fancy, that my complaints about my shoulder were an effect only of my tenderness; that there was nothing broke or out of joint; and that the whole amounted only to a contusion. The old duke's surgeon, who sided with them, said the like to every body; adding, that it was very hard that for the sake of my tenderness I should expose the whole family, which was upon the point of being invested at Machecoul. I was in my bed all this while, where I felt incredible pains, and where I was not able so much as to turn. But hearing these people speak in this manner, I grew so impatient, that I resolved to leave them, and to throw myself into Belle-Isle, from whence I might at least get away by sea. The passage to it was very hazardous, because the mareschal de la Meilleraie had caused all the coast to be guarded with men in arms. I ventured upon it however. I embarked at the port de la Roche, which lies about half a league from Machecoul, in a sloop, of which la Giscaie, a captain of a man of war, and a good seaman, would be the pilot. The weather obliged us to cast anchor at Croisy, where we were in danger of being discovered by a sloop, which came to us in the night. La Giscaie, who spoke the country language, and knew all these parts, came off very well. We sailed away the next morning at break of day, and we discovered some time after a long bark of Biscay, which gave us the chase. We run from it out of regard to Mr. de Brissac, who would not have liked to have been carried into Spain, because he was not, like me, escaping out of prison, and that such a voyage might

might have been looked upon as criminal in him. The long bark coming full upon us, and being even near getting the wind of us, we thought that it would be best for us to land in the island of Retz. The bark seemed as if it would have followed us thither, and we saw it coast along for a pretty while, till at last we saw it bear off. We got again on board of our sloop at night, and we arrived at Belle-Isle at break of day.

I suffered, during this passage, all the pain that a man is able to bear, and I had need of all the strength of my constitution to preserve the contusion I had on my shoulder, being so great as it was, from the gangrene, having applied to it all this while no other remedy than salt and vinegar. I met not at Belle-Isle with the same disgust as at Machecoul, but at the bottom I met not there with a much greater firmness. They fancied, in the country of Retz, that the commander de Neuf Chaise, who was at Rochel, would receive incessantly an order for investing me in Belle-Isle, and they likewise heard there, that the mareschal de la Meilleraie was preparing at Nantes two long barks for that purpose. These advices were in the main right and true, but the execution of them was not by much so near at hand as they thought, and it required a longer time than had been needed for the curing of my shoulder. But the fright they were in at Machecoul had an influence upon those of Belle-Isle, and I perceived it by their being inclined to think there, that my shoulder was not really out of joint, and that the pain which the contusion caused me made me fancy that my ail was greater than it really was. It is impossible to imagine the trouble which these sorts of murmurings cause when they are unjust. The chevalier de Seigné, a man of courage, but self-interested, was afraid of having his house pulled down; and Mr. de Brissac, who thought that he had made sufficient amends for the laziness, rather than weakness, which he had shewn during my imprisonment, was glad to put an end to the thing, and not expose his quiet about it for ever. I was not less impatient than they were, to see them disentangled out of a trouble in which they had engaged only for my sake. The difference was, that I thought not the danger so great, either for them or for me, as to be deprived of the necessary time which I fancied might have been allowed me for curing my shoulder, and about providing myself with a ship which I might be safe upon. They would have persuaded me to have put myself on board of an Hamburgh ship, which lay in the road, ready

to sail for Holland, which I thought not fit to do, the master, who was a stranger, knowing who I was, and having it in his power to carry me to Nantes, as well as Holland. I proposed to them to send for the long bark of Biscay, which I have mentioned, and which had cast anchor in sight of Belle-Isle; but they were afraid that to have such an intelligence with the Spaniards would be imputed to them as a crime. I embarked at last in a fisherman's bark, in which there were only five mariners of Belle-Isle, and I had with me only Joly, two of my gentlemen, and a valet-de-chambre, whom my brother had lent me. The bark was loaded with pilchards, which was good for us, because we were very bare of money. My brother had sent me some, but the man that carried it had been arrested by those that guarded the coast. His wife's father had not been so civil as to offer me any. Mr. de Brissac lent me eighty pistoles, and the officer who commanded in Belle-Isle forty. We left our cloaths, and took some tattered ones, which the soldiers of the garrison furnished us with, and we put to sea in the beginning of the night, with a design to sail to St. Sebastian, which is in the Guipuscoa. The distance to that place was great enough for such a bark as ours was, it being eighty long leagues; but it was the nearest of all those where I could land with safety. The weather was very stormy all night long, but it grew calm at break of day, which was no great matter of comfort to us, because we lost the only mariner's compass we had. It fell into the sea by I don't know what accident. Our mariners found themselves at a great loss, and being very ignorant men, they knew not whereabouts they were. They followed no other course than that which a ship that gave them chase forced them to take. They discovered, by its garb, that it was a Sallee rover. Perceiving, in the evening, that they were striking sail, we judged by it that they were afraid of the land, and consequently that we could not be far from it. Little birds that came to perch upon our mast made it besides plain enough. The question was what land it might be, for we were as much afraid of that of France as of that of the Turks. This made us keep off from shore all that night and all the next day, and a ship which we spied, and would have come near to inform ourselves, fired thrice at us, which was the only answer we received. We had but little water on board, and we were afraid of being surprized by foul weather, there being already some appearance of it. The night
however

however was calm enough, and at break of day we perceived a sloop at sea. We came near it with much ado, those upon the sloop fearing that we might be rovers. We spoke Spanish and French to three men whom we saw on board, but they understood neither of these languages. One of them cried aloud San Sebastian, to let us know that they belonged to that place. We shewed him money, and answered San Sebastian, to give them to understand that we would land there. He came on board of us and conducted us thither, which was easy for him to do, because we were near it.

We were no sooner landed, than those of San Sebastian asked us for our charter party, which is a thing so necessary at sea, that it is a hanging matter for any master of a ship to be found without one. The master of our bark had not considered of this, thinking that I should have no need of it. The want of such a paper, and our ragged cloaths, obliged the guards of the port to tell us that we were like to be hanged the next morning. Our answer was, that we were known to the baron de Vatteville, who commanded for the king of Spain in the Guipuscoa. This answer made them bring us to an inn, and Joly went with one of their men to the baron de Vatteville, who was at Port-Passage, and who judged at first by his cloaths that he was an impostor. He kept however that thought to himself, and the next day he came to visit me at my inn. He made me a very long compliment, but dark and entangled, and suitable to a man who was used, in the post he was in, to meet often with impostors. The arrival of Beau-Chefne began to give him a better opinion of me. I had sent Beau-Chefne from Beau-preau to Paris, and my friends had dispatched him immediately back to me to St. Sebastian, as soon as they heard that I was to steer my course to that place. The baron found him so well informed of the news, that he had room to believe that he was no false express. His news indeed was not very pleasing to the baron, for he learnt from him that the French had beat the Spaniards out of their lines at Arras, and the advice which Mr. de Vatteville sent immediately of it to Madrid, was the first they had there of that defeat. Beau-Chefne came to St. Sebastian with an incredible diligence upon a ship of Biscay, which he found in the road of Belle-Isle, the master of the ship being extremely glad to find an opportunity of bringing that gentleman to me. My friends sent him to persuade me to take my way towards Rome, rather than

than towards Mezieres, into which place they were afraid I should throw myself. Their advice was certainly the wisest, though it did not prove the most successful. I followed it without any hesitation, but not without pain. I knew enough of the court of Rome to be persuaded that the post of a refugee and a suppliant is not pleasing there; and being as much incensed as I was against Mazarin, I felt motions within me which inclined me to go rather to some place where I might have a larger field to express my resentment. Not that I was ignorant that I ought not to have expected from the duke de Noirmoutier every thing which might perhaps have been convenient for me for the time to come, but I was not ignorant neither, that being master in Mezieres, as I would have been if I had gone thither, it is probable that I might have engaged Mr. de Noirmoutier further than he himself intended; that gentleman, after all, shewing, outwardly at least, a regard for me, and having, as soon as he heard of my escape, even dispatched me a gentleman, who came with Lamet's express, to offer me a retreat in both their places. My friends did not doubt of my finding a sure retreat at Mezieres, but they were in fear as to Charleville; and the situation of these two places being such, that one of them is not very considerable without the other, they thought, that considering the disposition of Mr. de Noirmoutier, I should do better not to chuse these places for my retreat. I repeat once more here what I have already said of the probability of succeeding better there than my friends believed, not that I ground this probability upon the good intentions of Noirmoutier, but upon the effect which my presence might have produced upon him. The advice of my friends prevailed over my own views. They represented to me, that the natural sanctuary for a cardinal and for a bishop, that was persecuted, was the Vatican. But there are conjunctures, in which it is not difficult to foresee, that such a sanctuary may prove an exile. I foresaw it, and I chose it; that choice being grounded on the deference I had for the advice of those I had obligations to, and I have never repented of it, though the success answered not their expectation. I should value myself more upon it, if it had proceeded from my own moderation, and from my desire of applying myself to my re-establishment by ecclesiastical means.

It was not the Spaniards fault that I followed not other measures. As soon as Mr. de Vatteville was convinced that

I was

I was the cardinal de Retz, which the circumstances I have mentioned were a help to, and in which he was confirmed by a gentleman of Bourdeaux, who was his secretary, and who had seen me at Paris several times; he took me to his house, where he kept me hid in a manner, that, though the mareschal de Grammont, who was not above three leagues distance from San Sebastian, had sent notice to the court by an express of my arrival at that place, he thought the next day that he was under such a mistake, as to oblige him to dispatch another express to unsay what he had written. I kept my bed for three weeks without being able to stir, and Mr. de Vatteville's surgeon, who was a very able man, would not undertake my cure, because it was too late. I had my shoulder absolutely out of joint, and he condemned me to remain lame so long as I lived. I sent Bois-Guerin to the king of Spain with a letter, wherein I intreated him to give me leave to pass through his dominions to go to Rome. That gentleman was received both by his Catholic majesty, and by Don Lewis de Haro, with a civility beyond what I am able to express. He was sent back the very next day, with a present of a chain of gold worth 800 crowns. I had one of the king's litters sent me, and Don Christoval de Chassembac, a German, but devoted to Spain, a secretary for foreign affairs, and a great confidant of Don Lewis, was dispatched to me. He used all manner of ways to oblige me to go to Madrid. I excused myself from it, because such a journey would be of no service to his Catholic majesty, and might give a great advantage over me to my enemies. These reasons, though very good, as I believe you will own, were not reckoned such, which as I was wondering at, Vatteville, who in the presence of the secretary had been of the same mind openly with him, and even vehemently, said to me: 'This journey would cost the king 50,000 crowns, and would perhaps cost you the archbishopric of Paris, and yet it would be of no use at all. I must however speak as the other does, or they would resent it at court. We act upon the foot of Philip the second, whose maxim was always to engage strangers by public demonstrations. You see in what manner we apply it, and you may judge of the rest by this.' These words are significant, and I have myself found them since more than once to be true, when I have examined the conduct of the council of Spain. It has appeared to me on several occasions, that they fall there into as great errors by keeping too obstinately

nately attached to their general maxims, as they do in France by the contempt they shew there for any manner of maxims or rules.

When Don Christoval saw that he could not persuade me to go to Madrid, he tried by all manner of ways to oblige me to embark upon a frigate of Dunkirk, which was at San Sebastian, and he made me immense offers, in case I would go into Flanders to treat with the prince of Condé, and declare myself together with Mezieres, Charleville and the Mont-Olimpe, for the Spaniards. He was in the right to propose to me these measures, which would certainly have proved serviceable to the king his master. You have seen what reasons I had to refuse the proposal. What was very gallant and very civil in him, is, that notwithstanding my not accepting any of his offers, he caused however a little trunk covered with velvet to be brought, in which there were 40,000 crowns in double doubloons. I thought not fit to accept of them, considering that I did nothing for the service of his Catholic majesty, and I excused myself upon that account with all the respect which I was obliged to. But having no linen nor cloaths, either for myself or for those that were with me, and the four hundred crowns * which I received out of the sale of the pilchards, having been almost spent in what I gave to Mr. de Vatteville's servants; I borrowed four hundred pistoles of that gentleman, which I gave my note for, and which I have repaid him since.

After my health was somewhat restored I left San Sebastian, and took my way towards Valencia, with an intent to embark at Vivaros, where Don Christoval assured me that Don Juan of Austria, who was at Barcelona, would send me both a frigate and a galley. I passed through all Navarre in one of the king's litters, under the name of marquis de St. Florent, having for my conductor Mr. de Vatteville's steward, who said that I was a gentleman of Burgundy that was going to serve the king in the Milaneze. At my arrival at Tudello, a pretty considerable town, which is beyond Pampeluna, I found the people there in a pretty great commotion. They lighted fires there in the night, and kept corps-de-guards. The country farmers of the neighbourhood had made an insurrection,

* Joli says six hundred crowns, and that he received a like sum for the sale of another parcel of pilchards brought upon the ship in which Beau-Chefne came to San Sebastian.

surrection, because they had been forbidden to hunt. They had entered the town, and had used great violences there, having even pillaged some houses. A corps-de-guard, which was placed at ten at night before the inn where I lay, began to put me in fear that the inhabitants had some suspicion of me. But the king's litter, and the muleteers who wore the king's livery, removed that fear. At midnight I saw one Don Martin come into my chamber with a very long sword and a large buckler. He told me that he was the inn-keeper's son, and that he came to give me notice that the people were in a great commotion; that they believed that I was a Frenchman, who was come to foment the revolt of the farmers; that the Alcade himself knew not what to think of it; and that it was to be feared that the worst sort of mob might take hold of that pretence to rob and to murder me; and that even the corps-de-guard, which had been set up before the inn, began themselves to murmur and to grow inflamed. I desired Don Martin to shew them without affectation the king's litter, and to bring them to speak with the muleteers, and with Don Pedro, Mr. de Vatteville's steward. This last came into my chamber at that same instant to tell me that they were *Endemoniados*, * who understood neither rhyme nor reason, and that they had threatened to murder him himself. We passed the whole night in this manner, having for serenadoes a multitude of confused voices that sung, or rather howled songs against the French. I thought fit the next morning to shew these men by our assured countenance, that they were mistaken in taking us for Frenchmen. But as I was offering to go out to mass, I met a centinel at the door, who made me get into my chamber again hastily enough, by putting the but-end of his musket to my head, and by telling me that he was ordered by the Alcade to command me in the king's name to keep where I was. I sent Don Martin to the Alcade to tell him who I was, and Don Pedro went along with him. The Alcade came immediately to me. He left his wand at the door, and kneeling to me, he kissed the skirt of my coat; but he declared that he could not let me go till he had an order for it from the count de San Estevan, viceroy of Navarre, who was at Pampeluna. Don Pedro went to him with an officer of the town, and they came back with

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* *Persons possessed.*

many excuses from the viceroy. They gave me a convoy of fifty soldiers mounted upon asses, who accompanied me as far as Cortés.

I continued my journey through Sarragossa, the capital city of Arragon, a large and fine town. I was surprized to the last degree to hear in the streets every body talking French. There is indeed a vast number of French in that place, most of them are artizans, who are more attached to Spain than even the Spaniards themselves. The duke de Monteleon, a Neapolitan of the house of Pignatelly, viceroy of Arragon, sent a gentleman to meet me upon the road at three or four leagues distance from the town, and to tell me that he would have come himself with all the gentry, if the king his master had not sent him word to obey my orders, which he knew would be against his coming. This compliment, which, as you see, was very civil, was accompanied with all possible marks of kindness, and with all manner of refreshments which I met with at Sarragossa. Before one enters the town on the side on which I went, one sees the Alcazar* of the ancient kings of the Moors, which belongs at present to the inquisition. There is near it a walk of trees, in which I saw a priest walking. The gentleman belonging to the viceroy told me, that that priest was the curate of Occa, a very antient town in Arragon, and that the curate was there performing quarantine, after having buried, three weeks since, his last parishioner, who was in reality the last man of twelve thousand who had died of the plague in his parish. The same gentleman of the viceroy's shewed me all that was remarkable at Sarragossa. I went all this while under the name of marquis de St. Florent, but the gentleman did not reflect that Nuestra Senora del Pilar, which is the most famous sanctuary of all Spain, could not be seen under that title. They never discover to the sight of any body, that miraculous image, except to sovereign princes, and to cardinals. The marquis de St. Florent appeared to be neither, so that when I was seen within the banisters, with a black velvet coat, and a cravat on, the multitude of people that had been brought thither by the sound of a bell that never rings but upon account of that ceremony, thought me to be the king of England. I believe that there were above two hundred coaches full of ladies, who all expressed the greatest civilities to me, to which I could

make

* Palace.

make a return but in very indifferent Spanish. That church is fine in itself, but its ornaments and riches are immense, and its treasury magnificent. I was shewed there a man who was employed to light the lamps, the number of which is prodigious, and I was told, that he had been seen at the door of that church for seven years together but with one leg, whereas now he had two. The dean and all the prebends assured me, that the whole town had seen it as well as they; and that if I would stay but two days longer, I might speak to above 20,000 persons from the neighbourhood, who had seen him, as well as those of the town. He had recovered his last leg (as he said) by anointing himself with some oil out of the lamps. They keep there a yearly holy day, in memory of that pretended miracle, with an incredible concourse of people; and the truth is, that at the distance of a day's journey from Saragossa, I still met the roads full of persons of all qualities running to it.

From the kingdom of Arragon I came into that of Valencia, which may not only be called the wholesomest, but likewise the finest country in the world. Pomegranate-trees, orange-trees, and lemon-trees, serve there for pallisadoes to all the great roads. The finest and clearest waters run along them like canals. The whole country round, which is enamelled with millions of different sorts of flowers, exhale millions of different sorts of odours of a charming smell. I arrived through that country, at Vivaros, where Don Ferdinando Carillo Zuatra, general of the galleys of Naples, joined me the next day with the admiral galley, of his squadron, an excellent and fine ship, and reinforced with the best part of the galley-slaves, and of the soldiers, belonging to the vice-admiral's galley that had been in a manner disarmed for that purpose. Don Ferdinando brought me a letter from Don Juan of Austria, as finely writ, and as well turned, as any one I have ever seen. He left it to my choice either to make use of that galley, or of a frigate of Dunkirk of 36 guns, that was in that port. This last was the safest to pass the gulf of Lions, in so far advanced a season, for we were in the month of October. I chose the galley, which (as you will see) was not wisely done of me. Don Christoval de Cardonna, a knight of St. James's, arrived at Vivaros a quarter of an hour after Don Ferdinando Carillo, and he told me that the duke de Montalte, viceroy of Valencia, had sent him to offer me all that he had in his power; that he knew that I had refused his catholic majesty's present at St. Sebastian;

Sebastian; that he durst not for that reason press me to accept what the Pagueloi of the galleys was ordered to bring me; but that knowing that the precipitancy with which I had left France, had not given me time to take much money with me; knowing besides, that, being very liberal, I should not be sorry to give some regale to the people on board the galley; he hoped that I would not refuse some little refreshments to that purpose. These refreshments consisted of six great chests full of all sorts of sweetmeats made at Valencia; of twelve dozen pair of Spanish gloves, of an exquisite smell; and of a perfumed purse, in which there were two thousand pieces of gold coined in the Indies, which were worth two thousand five or six hundred pistoles. I accepted the present without any manner of difficulty, and my answer was, That as I did not find myself in a condition to do his catholic majesty any service, I thought that I should have been wanting to my duty all manner of ways, if I had accepted the considerable sums which were brought to me from him at St. Sebastian, and which were offered me at Vivaros by his order; but that I should think likewise I was wanting to the respect I owed to so great a monarch, if I should refuse to accept this last present, which he was pleased to honour me with. This was the reason of my accepting of it; but before I embarked I presented the captain of the galley with the sweetmeats, I gave the gloves to Don Ferdinando, and I sent the gold by Don Pedro to the baron de Vatterville, with a letter importing that having heard him say several times how embarrassed he was by reason of the great expence which he was put to for finishing the building the admiral's ship for the West-Indies, which was upon the stocks at St. Sebastian, I sent him a small grain, as a remedy against his head-ach, for so he called the pain which the building of that ship cost him. My manner of acting on this occasion was a little over-strained. I was in the right to give the refreshments to the captain, and as for the gloves it was a thing indifferent to keep them for myself, or to give them to Don Ferdinando; but it had been prudent in me to have kept the gold. The Spaniards have never forgiven it me, and have attributed to my aversion, a refusal which was in effect but the natural consequence of the resolution which I had taken of never accepting money from any body.

I embarked at the second watch of the night, the wind being high, but going before it, it did not incommode us much. Our ship ran fifteen miles an hour, and we arrived the next day at Majorca,

Majorca. The plague being in Arragon, all the ships that came from the coast of Spain were obliged to call at that island. It was with a pretty deal of difficulty that we could obtain leave to have any communication with the town, the magistrates opposing it with vigour. The viceroy, who is not near so absolute in that island as other viceroys are in Spain, and who had received an order from the king his master to do me all the civilities possible, obtained at last by his instances, leave for me, and for those that belonged to me, to come into the town upon condition that I should not lie in it. We thought this, you may be sure, pretty odd, because the contagious air may be carried to a place, though you do not lie in it. I was saying it in the afternoon to a gentleman of Majorca, who made me the following answer, which I took notice of, because it may be applied to a thousand occasions one may meet with. 'We are not afraid of your bringing here the contagious air, because we know that you have not passed at Occa; but having been pretty near it, we are glad to make you an example, which will not incommode you, and of which the consequences will be of service to us.' This has something stronger, and even more gallant, in the Spanish tongue than in ours.

The viceroy, who was a count of the kingdom of Arragon, came to fetch me with one hundred or a hundred and twenty coaches, full of persons of distinction, having the best air of any in Spain. He carried me to mass at the Leo, which is a name they give to all cathedrals. I saw there between thirty and forty women of quality all handsomer one than another, and what is wonderful, is, that there is no ugly woman in all the island, or at least they are very few in number. Their beauty for the most part is of the most delicate kind, and their complexion all lilies and roses; even the ordinary women that walk the streets are all such. They have a particular sort of dress, which is very becoming. The viceroy gave me a magnificent dinner in a rich tent of gold brocade, which is set up by the sea-side. He carried me afterwards to a concert of music in a convent of nuns, nothing inferior in beauty to the ladies of the town. They sung at their grate, in honour of their saint, airs, and words more gallant and more passionate than those of Lambert. *

L 3

Towards

* A famous musician of Paris, whose daughter signior Baptiste Lully married.

Towards evening we walked round the town, and saw the finest country imaginable, and such as we had seen in the kingdom of Valencia. After walking we came to the vice-queen, who was as ugly as the devil, and who, being seated under a large canopy, and all covered over with precious stones, gave a marvellous lustre to threescore ladies that sat round her, who were the choicest beauties of the town. I was brought back to the galley with fifty white wax flambeaux, whilst all the guns of the ramparts were discharged, and whilst a vast number of hautboys and trumpets were playing. I spent in these diversions the three days which the bad weather forced me to stay at Majorca. I left that island upon the fourth, with a fresh gale of wind behind us, which carried us fifty leagues in twelve hours, so that I arrived safely before night at Port-Mahon, which is the finest port in the Mediterranean. The entrance into it is very strait, and I do not believe that two gallees could pass in it at once. It widens on a sudden, and forms an oblong wet dock of a good half league broad, and a good league long. A great hill that surrounds it on all sides forms a theatre, which by the number and height of the trees that cover it, and by the waters that fall from it in great abundance, opens thousands and thousands of scenes, more surprizing, without exaggeration, than those of our operas. That same hill, the trees, and the rocks, guard the port against all winds, so that in the most tempestuous weather the water is always calm and smooth. It is equally deep every where, and the Spanish galleons can ride in it at four steps distance from the ground. This port is in the island of Minorca, which furnishes more flesh, and more of all sorts of provisions necessary for ships, than that of Majorca furnishes pomegranates, oranges and lemons.

The weather grew extremely stormy after our arrival in this port, which obliged us to stay there for four days. We tried four times to put to sea, but the wind would not give us leave. Don Ferdinando Carillo, who was a young gentleman of quality, of twenty-four years of age, mighty civil and mighty kind, sought to procure me all the diversion that that fine place would afford. We found there hunting of all kinds, and fishing in abundance. A way of fishing particular to that port was this: Don Ferdinando chose a hundred Turks out of his ship's crew, who were set in rank, and were made to hold a very large cable. Four of the Turks dived to the bottom and tied the cable to a large stone, which their companions

companions drew by that means upon the shore, after having used incredible efforts about it. The breaking of that stone with hammers, proved not much less difficult. They found in it seven or eight shell-fish, less than oysters in bigness, but of a higher relish beyond comparison.

The weather growing calmer we put to sea with a design to pass the gulph of Lyons, which begins there, and is one hundred leagues long and forty broad. It is extremely dangerous, as well because of the sands, which they say it abounds with, as because it has no port any where. The coast of Barbary which bounds it on one side, is often not approachable: That of Languedoc which joins it on the other side, is very bad. In short, that passage is not at all to be liked for gallies when the season is advancing towards winter, and it was pretty far advanced for us, the month of November being near approaching, when blustering winds are always blowing. Don Ferdinando, who was one of the most venturesome gentlemen in Spain, confessed to me that a small frigate had been better on this occasion than the strongest galley. We passed the gulph in thirty-six hours time with the finest weather in the world, and with a wind which at the same time that it served us, did not oblige us to set up any light upon our stern. We entered in this manner into the channel which is between Corsica and Sardinia. Don Ferdinando Carillo perceiving some clouds which made him fear a change of weather, proposed to me to go and cast anchor at Porto Condé, which is an uninhabited place in Sardinia, which I agreed to; but his fear vanishing away with the clouds, he altered his mind, that he might not lose the fair weather, which was a great piece of good luck for me; for Mr. de Guise, who was going to Naples with a French fleet, had cast anchor at that place with six galleys. Don Ferdinando Carillo, who was informed of it two days after, told me that he would have made but little account of these six galleys, having on board his own 450 men, which was enough to have resisted them. But it had been however an encounter, which a man who was escaping from prison, would sooner still have avoided than any other. The fort of St. Boniface, which is in Corsica, and belongs to the Genoese, fired forty gunshots when they perceived us, and being at too great a distance from the fort to take this for a salute, we judged that it was a signal which they gave us, as it was true, for it was to give us notice of the enemies being at
Porto

Porto Condé. We did not understand it this way, and we thought that it was to let us know that a small frigate which we saw before us at the coming out of the channel, was a Turkish pirate, as it appeared to be by the garb. Don Ferdinando took it into his head to attack it, and he told me that if I would permit him he would give me the pleasure of seeing a fight that would not last above a quarter of an hour. He ordered his pilot to give chase to the frigate, which indeed seemed to make the best of its way in order to avoid us. The pilot, who was intent upon nothing but the obeying that order, did not mind a shelf which, though it did not appear above water, is so well known that it is even marked out in maps. Our galley struck against it, and nothing being more dangerous at sea, every body began to lament. All the slaves rose up, trying to undo their fetters and to escape by swimming. Don Ferdinando Carillo, who was playing at piquet with Joly in the stern-room, threw to me the first sword that he could find, crying to me to draw it out. He drew out his and slashed all the slaves he met, as did likewise his officers and soldiers, being afraid that the whole crew of slaves, among whom there were many Turks, would make themselves masters of the galley, as it has sometimes happened on such occasions. After they had all taken again their usual places, he said to me with the greatest calm and assurance possible: 'My order, sir, is, first of all to take care of you; I must therefore provide for your safety, and will afterwards see whether the galley be damaged.' He ordered, at this, four slaves to take me up, and to put me into the felucca. Thirty Spanish soldiers came into it likewise by his order, whom he commanded to carry me upon a little rock which appeared near us, and on which not above four or five persons could find room. The soldiers were in the water to the middle, which I took compassion at, and finding that our galley was not damaged, I was for sending them back to it; but they told me that if those of Corsica, who stood upon the shore, perceived me to be without a good guard, they would infallibly come to pillage and murder me; these barbarians fancying that all that is cast away belongs to them.

The galley was not damaged, which was a kind of miracle. They were however above two hours in setting it to rights. The felucca came to take me up, and I was glad when I found myself again upon the galley. As we were
coming

coming out of the channel, we still perceived the frigate, which was pursuing its way after having found that we had ceased to give her chase. But we began again to do it, and she to run away from us. We joined her in less than two hours time, and we found that it was in effect a Turkish ship, but that it belonged to the Genoese, who had taken it from the Turks and had set it out. To tell you the truth, I was very glad to see this adventure end in this manner, this sort of war being not to my liking. The weather growing somewhat foul, Don Ferdinando thought fit to go to Porto Vecchio, which is another uninhabited port of Corsica. A trumpeter came thither from the governor of a fort belonging to the Genoese, which is just by it, to give us notice, that Mr. de Guise was at Porto Condé with six French galleys; that it was likely that he had seen us pass by, and perhaps that he intended to come and surprize us there in the night-time. Upon this we resolved to put to sea again, though the weather began to be very tempestuous, and that it was even somewhat dangerous to come out of Porto Vecchio during the night, because that at the mouth of it there is a rock from whence there descends a pretty troublesome current. The foul weather encreased with the night, and we were attacked with the greatest storm that was perhaps ever seen at sea. The pilot in chief of the galleys of Naples, who was on board of us, and who had used the sea for fifty years, said that he had never seen the like. Every body were at their prayers, or were confessing themselves; and none but Don Ferdinando Carillo, who received the communion every day when he was on shore, and who was a gentleman of an exemplary piety, forbore shewing any forwardness to prostrate himself at the feet of the priests. He left others at liberty to do what they pleased, but he kept quiet himself; and he whispered these words into my ear: 'I am much afraid that all these confessions, extorted only by fear, are nought.' He remained all along upon the deck, giving his orders with a surprizing coolness, and heartening, but mildly and civilly, an old soldier who appeared a little frightened. I shall always remember that he called him Sennora Soldado de Carlos Quinto. The private captain of the galley caused, in the greatest height of the danger, his embroidered coat and his red scarf to be brought to him, saying that a true Spaniard ought to die bearing his king's marks of distinction. He sat himself down in a great elbow-chair, and with his foot struck

struck a poor Neapolitan in the chops, who not being able to stand upon the coursey of the galley, was crawling along, crying out aloud, *Sennor Don Fernando por l'amor de Dios confession*. The captain, when he struck him, said to him; *Inimigo de Dios piedi confession?* And as I was representing to him that his inference was not right, he said that that old man gave offence to the whole galley. You cannot imagine the horror of a great storm; you can as little imagine the ridicule mixed with it. A Sicilian observantine monk was preaching at the foot of the great mast, that St. Francis had appeared to him, and had assured him that we should not perish. I should never have done, should I undertake to describe the ridiculous frights that are seen on these occasions.

The great danger lasted but seven hours, after which we sought for a little shelter under the Piarouse. Finding the wind to abate, we got to Porto-longone. We spent there the feast of All-Saints and that of All-Souls, the wind being contrary for us to come out of the port. The governor, a Spaniard, shewed me all the civility imaginable; and finding that the wind continued to be contrary, he advised me to go and see Porto-ferraro. There is but five miles distance from one port to the other, and I went thither on horseback.

I have already told you that nothing so agreeable can be seen in the rural scenes of an opera, as the scene at Port-Mahon; and I may be allowed to tell you now with as much truth, that there is nothing so magnificent in the most stately scenes you ever saw there, as is to be seen at Porto-ferraro. None but a man versed in fortifications can well describe it, and I will only tell you that the strength of it surpasses its magnificence. It is the only place in the world that is impregnable, as the mareschal de la Meilleraie confessed. He went to visit it, after having taken Porto-longone during the regency, and being an impetuous man, he told the commander Grifoni, who commanded in it for the great duke of Tuscany, that the fortification of it was good, but that if the king his master commanded him to attack it, he would give him a good account of it in six weeks time. The commander Grifoni replied, that he took too long a term, and that the great duke was so much the king's humble servant, that a moment would suffice. The mareschal was ashamed of having spoken so rashly, or rather so brutishly; and to make

make the commander some amends, he said to him : ' You are a gallant man, and I am a fool. I confess that your place is impregnable.' The mareschal related this story to me at Nantes, and Grifoni, who still commanded in that place when I passed there, confirmed it to me.

The wind suffering us to come out of Porto-longone, we landed at Piombino, which is upon the coast of Tuscany. I left the galley at that place, after I had given to the officers, to the soldiers, and to the crew of slaves, all the money I had left, and even the chain which his catholic majesty had given to Bois-guerin. I bought it of him, and I sold it to the factor of prince Ludovisio, who is prince of Piombino. I kept but nine pistoles, which I thought would be sufficient to carry me to Florence.

I am obliged to say, for the sake of truth, that never men deserved better to be gratified than those who were upon that galley. Their discretion in respect to me is perhaps without example. They were above six hundred men, of whom there was not one but knew me ; and of all that number there was not one that gave the least demonstration of it, either to myself or to any other. Their gratitude was equal to their discretion. They were touched to that degree with the gratification that I gave them, that they all wept when I left them to go to Piombino. This was, properly speaking, the place where I recovered my liberty, which till that time had run some risk, as the adventures which I have related will shew.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.